DEDICATED

TO THE REVERED MEMORY

OF

Dr. N. G. Sardesai,

L. M. & S.



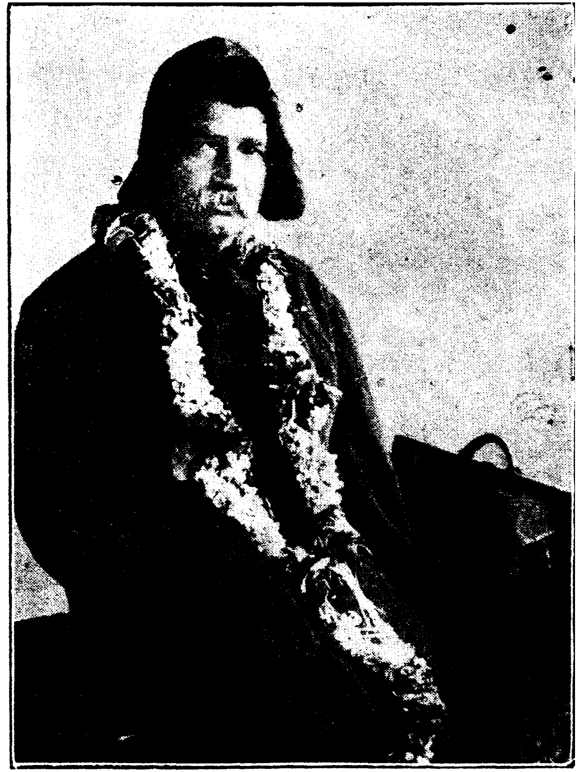
In 1903, as a Medical Practitioner
at Yeotmal, Berar



In 1910, as an Asstt. Surgeon in the Govt.
Hospital at Penang, Straits Settlements.



In 1912, as Chief Medical Officer in the Ichalkaranji State.



In 1927, on return from pilgrimage to Lake Mânāsa & Mount Kailāsa.

THE POONA ORIENTALIST

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EDITORIAL

This joint-number of the *Poona Orientalist* is dedicated to the revered memory of Dr. N. G. alias Annasaheb Sardesai who passed away on the 22nd January 1943. Detailed information about his family and life, his varied career and keen interest in many subjects ranging from Oriental Studies to Eugenics will be found in the articles by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, and Mr. G. S. Sardesai of Kolhapur, published in the following pages. He was the founder of The Oriental Book Agency, Poona the *Poona Oriental Series* and the *Poona Orientalist*. He was one of the founders of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute and the main pillar of its strength in the first few years of its life. Dr. Sardesai had established friendly contacts with many Oriental Scholars all over the country by satisfying their scholarly requirements through his O. B. Agency, as can be seen from extracts from the condolatory letters, published elsewhere in this issue.

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The *Poona Orientalist* is entering on its eighth year of existence with this joint-number. We have received some suggestions for its improvement from some of our friends. We would appreciate further suggestions from other scholars and would be very glad to implement them, as far as possible, within the limitations imposed on us by the present war-conditions, with a view to enhance the utility of the journal. If circumstances permit, we desire to bring out the next joint-number by the end of December 1943—and thus make the year of the journal synchronize with the calander-year.

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We welcome the inauguration of the Ganga Sanskrit Series, by the Government of Bikaner, under the patronage of H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, and hope that it will constitute a valuable addition to the existing Sanskrit Series. The Series is named after the late Maharaja Shri Ganga Singhji Bahadur and was started during his reign as one of the benefactions to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of his reign. The Dedicatory Volume of the Series, the *Anūpasiṁhaguṇāvatāra* edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, of the University of Madras, is recently published. It is in the fitness of things that the first volume in the Series should be a contemporary work in praise of the illustrious Ruler of Bikaner after whom the great Manuscript Library at Bikaner is named. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja has played an important part in the re-organization of the Anup Sanskrit Library and the starting of the Ganga Sanskrit Series. The publication of the Descriptive Catalogue of the entire manuscript collection in the Anup Sanskrit Library which Dr. Raja is preparing will be eagerly awaited as it is likely to bring to light many hitherto unknown Sanskrit works and Authors.

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We offer our heartiest greetings to Professor H. D. Velankar, M.A., of the Wilson College, Bombay, who has completed his fiftieth year on the 18th October 1943. Prof. Velankar's services to Indology are well known to scholars. He has prepared the Descriptive Catalogue, in four parts, of the manuscripts in the Bombay Branch of the R. A. S., critically edited the *Budhabhūṣaṇa* and some works on Prakrit metres and has undertaken a critical interpretation of the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*—particularly the Indra hymns. His *Jinaratnakoṣa* or the Catalogus Catalogorum of the Jain manuscrips which will be shortly published by the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute is a monument of patient research. Such an arduous work, which he has achieved single-handed might have done credit to a body of scholars working under the auspices of a Research Institute. He has found an abiding place in the hearts of his numerous pupils and friends by his willing advice, warmth of heart and solicitude for their welfare. We wish him a happy long life and increasing prosperity in the years to come.

AN AFFECTIONATE, TRIBUTE TO THE LATE Dr. N. G. SARDESAI

By Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B. A., Riyāsatkar, Kamshet

The premature death of Dr. Narahar Gopal Sardesai at Poona on 22nd January last cannot be too severely lamented. I had seen him just a few days before and never suspected that his end was so near. In my short talk with him on that morning he did not himself feel nor gave me the appearance that he was to pass away shortly, although a kind of malignant fever had pulled down his former robust constitution considerably.

It was a pure accident that contrived to bring him and me together during recent years. My friend the historian Rajwade during his search for old papers discoved a unique chronicle or a *bakhar* of the Mavlankar-Sardesai family at Prabhanvalli, recording events of historical import going back to the middle of the twelfth century. Rajwade considered the document valuable and knowing that I was interested in history during my service in the Baroda State, asked me to edit and publish it along with other papers which he had discovered. I took up the work heartily and started further research about the history of the extensive Sardesai family with branches existing all over India. I found the work beyond my own individual capacity and fortunately secured the co-operation of my valued friend Ganesh Vasudev alias Dadasaheb Mavlankar of Ahmedabad. For several days we sat together at Baroda scrutinizing the family papers and arranging accurate genealogies of the various branches. I then prepared a rough draft narrating the old history of the family and trying to bring it to the present times.

As my work was in progress, the marriage of the Baroda Princess, Indumati Devi, grand-daughter of Maharaja Sayaji Rao, with Rajaram the son of Shahu Chhtrapati of Kolhapur, took place at Baroda in April 1918. I acted in that marriage affair as a responsible officer of the Baroda State and came to know of a similar responsible Kolhapur Officer, my own namesake Govindrao Dada Sardesai, the trusted Secretary of Maharaja Shahu of Kolhapur. As this Govindrao Dada was peculiarly fitted to unravel the mysteries of family connections of the numerous scattered branches, I made his acquaintance and secured his co-

operation in preparing the history of the Sardesais. Thus we two Govindraos and Dadasaheb Mavlankar formed a trio to shoulder the responsibility of publishing this valuable work, which stood then in need of a suitable enterprising publisher. Govindrao Dada on his way back to Kolhapur met Dr. N. G. Sardesai at Poona, explained to him this project of history and induced him to undertake the publication at his own expense. Thus I came to know the Doctor since about the year 1921, and our first acquaintance soon ripened into a respectful friendship which continued to grow closer as time passed.

Dadasaheb Mavlankar, Dr. N. G. Sardesai and we two Govindraos (of Kolhapur and Kamshet) thus came together most accidently, all belonging to one and the same family and yet for centuries unknown to each other, ignorant of the close family ties that Providence had produced for them. It is these four self-constituted trustees or representatives of this renowned family that were, through God's grace, able not only to publish three large useful volumes of their past history but to regenerate the ancestral shrine of Narasimh at Mavlange, near Sangameshvar in the Ratnagiri district. It is a lesson in co-operative results, some supplying intensity of conception and brain power, and some the funds required for any large undertaking. It was to this secluded spot of Mavlange that our first common ancestor, Nrisimha Bhat Satyawadi, migrated about the year 1150 A. D. There he prayed to that deity and established its shrine through whose benign favour the family were able to carve out a name and fame for some eight centuries during which long period a great many figures arose who have left the stamp of their achievement on the sands of time. Who could believe that we four were after all not far removed from each other in ancestral pedigree? Referring to the excellent full genealogies that have now been printed, I find that I (Govindrao Nana) belong to the 32nd generation from that first ancestor Nrisimha Bhat, next comes the Doctor who represents the 33rd generation ; next to him comes Govindrao Dada of Kolhapur forming the 34th generation and the youngest is Dadasaheb Mavlankar marking the 35th. Our ages also confirm this relationship. I am now 78, the Doctor was 69 at his death, Govindrao Dada is 75, while Dadasaheb Mavlankar is the youngest of all

being now 55 years of age. Is it not curious that we human beings although so closely related, should consider ourselves as utter strangers, as we actually did, before our ancestry was elucidated. Hisory indeed when properly studied supplies the forgotten links and enables all human beings to consider themselves, as but cousins and nephews not far removed from each other.

My valued friend the Doctor's personality and work in life are too patent to need any advocacy of my pen. Like the rest of us he was entirely a self-made man, who built his own fortune by dint of stern character and selfless labour and has left behind an example worthy to be emulated. He was an Orientalist of remarkable discerning powers which he properly utilised in furthering the cause of ancient Oriental studies. I revered him for his honest simple character and felt extremely grieved when I suddenly heard that he had died before me, although eight years my junior. His life's work, however, cannot perish, and I have every hope that the two worthy sons whom he has left behind will keep up the father's memory ever fresh.

THE LATE Dr. NARHAR GOPAL alias ANNA SARDESAI, L. M. & S.

By G. S. Sardesai, Kolhapur.

In words, like weeds, I will wrap me over,
Like coarsest clothes against the cold;
But that large grief which these enfold
Is given in outline and no more.

Tennyson—*In Memorium.*

When in November 1878, I was admitted to the 1st Standard of the Rajaram High School of Kolhapur, there was, in the next upper class, another Sardesai whose name was Narhar Gopal. As we belonged to the same family we soon became known to each other. The boy, however, left Kolhapur for good, about two years thereafter and though his whereabouts were quite unknown to me I did neither forget his person nor his name. When, therefore, in 1912, I learnt that Shrimant Babasaheb Ghorpade of Ichalkaranji, had appointed Dr. Narhar Gopal Sardesai as his Chief Medical Officer I was almost sure that the C. O. M.

was none other than my old school-comrade. I could not, however, get in personal touch with him while he was there; and soon afterwards Dr. N. G. made Poona his permanent residence and theatre of work. There I first met him on Sunday 14th December 1924.

We met, by appointment, to discuss between us the details re the writing of the Family History of the Mavalankars. I was selected to write it and Dr. Anna took upon himself the responsibility of financing its publication ; and we were left to settle all details between us. This was the small beginning and the foundation of our friendship which grew apace as years passed on. During this period we corresponded frequently and I paid many visits to Poona and was always a welcome guest at his house

During these visits I came into a good deal of personal contact with him which helped me to write the short sketch of Dr. Anna's life and character in the Family History, published in 1930 A. D.; and it is on this that the following account is mainly based.

In the latter half of the 12th century, one Narsimha Bhat Satyawādi of the Koushik Gotra migrated with his wife from his residence on the banks of the Godawari to Mawalange, a village near Sangmeshwar, in the Ratnagiri District and settled there His great grandson, Krishnaji became the first Inamdar of the village as also the first Sardesai of the Sangmeshwar subdistrict. This change in the status of the priestly family led Krishnaji to take up Mavalangkar Sardesai as the family surname. In the course of nearly eight hundred years the family grew rapidly and has now branched off into a dozen main lines divided into nearly 300 households, altogether consisting of more than 2,000 persons, spread over many parts of the Maharashtra, Gujrat and the Central Provinces.

Anna belonged to the Devale branch of the Mavalangkars. His grandfather's grandfather, Hanmantrao, was rewarded for his eminent services by the Pant Amatya of Bawada with the Inam grant of the village of Sakhri in the Bavada Jahagir in 1759 A. D. Hamantrao made it his future place of residence and his descendants came to be known as the Sakhrikar Sardesais.

I append here a part of the genealogy of the Sakhrikars which will be a help to understand the account following it. The numbers to the left of each line denote the generation from Narsimha Bhat, the ancestor.

24.	1. Hanmantrao Narayan (First Inamdar).			
25.	2. Narayanrao.			
26.	3. Hanmantrao (died in 1839 A. D.).			
	(From his first wife)		(From his third wife)	
27.	4. Narayanrao m. Laxmibai. d. 1838.	5. Ganpatrao.	6. Madhavrao.	7. Sitaram.
28.	8. Salubai (Radhabai Padhye) d. 1901.	9. Balkrishnarao Bhau b. 1833 d. 1912.	10. Gopalrao Tatya b. 1837 d. 1893.	
29.	11. Vithal.	12. Narhar Anna.	13. Ganpati.	
30.	14. Radhakrishna alias Baburao.	15. Vidyadhar alias Bapurao.	16. Shantabai (Mrs. Chandorkar).	

Hanmantrao II was a man of great influence in his day; but, when old, he so succumbed to the guidance of his third wife, especially in his domestic affairs, as to drive out his eldest son Narayanrao from home and leave him to beggary. Narayanrao was thus compelled to live at Devale and there he managed to maintain himself and his family with the charitable assistance of his other relatives. In the maintenance suit which he brought against his father the court could decree to him an annual pittance of Rs. 75 (from his father's share of the Devale estate) (21-5-1830). Narayanrao died in 1838. As soon as he was dead, Hanmantrao

went to Devale and turned out the widow and her three children and made them homeless beggars of the street.

Laxmibai, Narayanrao's wife with her children then went to Pandharpur and chanced to find an asylum with the learned Padhye family. Her daughter was married into the Padhye family and the sons thus found a home there. Laxmibai died in 1841–42.

The Padhyes of Pandharpur did everything to bring up the orphans, educated them and in time got them married to suitable girls. They also (with the help of S. V. Gune and D. P. Phansalkar of Kolhapur) managed after a very hard and long contest, to restore the sons to their rights at Sakhri. Balkrishnarao was sent to Kolhapur to fight out the case and he bore the brunt of the struggle to the end. He then went to Sakhri and commenced his Inamdari in a poor thatched hut, to which as time went on and circumstances improved a few more similar rooms were added.

Gopalrao Tatya, who was at Pandharpur throughout the struggle, was then called over to Sakhri, where his wife Gopikabai, gave birth to her third child—Narhar Anna on 17-8-1873 A. D.

During his infancy Anna was rickety and remained in delicate health during his childhood; thanks to which he could not, even when a boy of 10, take part in activities natural to boyhood. His delicate health made him his father's special care, father and son were generally together. Tatya was a thoroughly religious-minded man and spent his mornings in devotion, prayers and recitations of the Bhagavadgītā. Anna tried to imitate him and being gifted with a strong memory learnt to say some hymns and portions of the Gītā without much spelling. When Tatya knew this he took care to infuse his mind with the stories of the Indian epics which left an indelible mark on the mind of his son and went a long way in shaping his character and future career.

Tatya was also keen on his boy's physical improvement. Therein the free air of Sakhri and its adjoining forest were of much use and Anna became, by and bye, hardy and strong. His primary education was his father's second care; he himself taught Anna his first three books. Then after their thread

ceremony Anna and his elder brother were sent to Pandharpur for further study. Anna's devotion to his aunt soon made him her favourite. His residence in the Padhye Family and association there with the many Sanskrit-learners were the foundation of his great liking for Sanskrit. He had studied it there, in the old way, for about three years. He joined the Poona New English School in 1889 and matriculated from it in 1892. Sometime before that Anna was married. His aunt, who had selected the girl, wanted the marriage to take place at Pandharpur. But Anna's father and uncle performed it at Sakhri. This was very unpleasant to her.

Tatya wanted Anna to be a pleader and Anna's own inclination was just the same. But the aunt, who was to supply the necessary funds, insisted on Anna's taking up the medical course and refused to support him otherwise. The result was that Anna joined; in 1893, the Grant Medical College, at Bombay. He took his L. M. & S. degree in 1902 A. D., and selected Yeotmal (Berars) for medical practice. He soon established a flourishing practice there, but his love of adventure and travelling abroad soon enticed him to accept service at Penang (Straits Settlement) when he was offered an Asstt. Surgeon's post there. He was there from 1908 to 1910 and in that short time learnt Malayese well. While there he was also attracted by quite a new field of study, viz. Archæology and laboured in it ever afterwards.

After about three years' service he returned to India, on leave; and was induced by the Jahadirdar of Inchalkaranji to accept service with him as his Chief Medical Officer, and he resigned his post at Penang (1911 A. D.). The Chief being fond of travel took Anna with him when he toured through Java, Bali and other places in the far East. After his return from this tour Anna took up a good deal of interest in Eugenics and delivered a number of lectures on that subject as well as on Archæology at Poona and other places.

Anna's wife, Annapurṇābai, died on 10-11-1913. Anna was then 40 years, old but in full vigour of life. In the interest of his very young children he made up his mind not to marry again. He resigned, however, his service at Inchalkarnji and made Poona his future home.

Anna's aunt, Mrs. Radhabai Padhye, had liberally assisted him throughout her life and had (so rumour says), at her death in 1901 A. D., left him sufficient money to live well. He was earning enough for the family expenses but his bent of mind was towards Ancient Sanskrit learning and in 1915 he started "The Oriental Book Supplying Agency", and he worked very hard to make it a flourishing institution. His devotion to the Institution made him proportionately neglect his medical practice which was confined to only a small number of families which did not like to change the old physician for a new one. The Agency, on account of its extensive work, was able to supply the family needs all along.

He was also one of the founders of the Bhandharkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona. He incessantly helped it in various ways and was one of the pillars of its strength. He was intimately connected with every institution in Poona, which aimed at the study of Sanskrit in any form.

He was very regular and indefatigable in his undertakings. He got up very early in the morning and took a walk of some miles and came back at sunrise. After a megre breakfast he walked to the Agency whence he returned home for supper at 8 P. M. in the evening. He had his afternoon meals at the Agency except when some guests were staying at his house and he had to meet them there; these were the only respites he got from his labours.

He was ever ready to help others; hence the number of seekers of his help were without number. They took much of his time but he never put them off, and was glad when he succeeded in satisfying them.

He was very fond of travelling and had gone through all the pilgrimages of the orthodox Brahmin. Every two years he was absent from his professional work for a month or two on that acccount and he called that period his "vacation".

He had an ever-present and keen sense of gratitude. He was upright but too strict in business-dealings, though rather careless in personal matters and domestic expenses; was very indulgent to children but a hard taskmaster as they grew up into young persons; had an equally cordial welcome to friends and

guests but made no secret of his displeasure when he found them idling away their time; at such moments he would not hesitate to saddle them with some kind of work—such as proof-correcting, copying of MS., &c. He would reward his servants handsomely if they worked to his satisfaction. In religious matters he himself strictly kept to old forms but was not intolerant to others of his household. He never grudged help to his near and distant relatives who crowded his house; but at times his generosity carried him too far. He was more governed by his heart than by his head, and as he was a man of sentiments his prepossessions and prejudices were always strong and lasting and yet amongst his friends there were some who were his school and college companions.

For the last few months of his life he did not write to me. It was an unusual thing and I learnt, on inquiry, from his son that Anna was on tour. I was long expecting a letter from him but in its stead a post-card from his son announced to me that Anna was gone on the 22nd of January 1943 after a short illness! I was quite ignorant of his illness and the shock was in proportion sudden and great. It will be a matter of much grief to me to my last hour that I was not with him during his last illness when Anna might have been (and I am sure of it) all along expecting me at his death-bed. It is small consolation now for the debt of gratitude I owe him for his constancy and sincerity of kindness, hospitality and generosity!!

Anna leaves behind him two worthy sons; the elder one Dr. R. N. Sardesai, L. C. P. S., is now looking after the Oriental Book Agency. He went to Germany in 1936 and stayed there till 1938. During his stay there, he has carefully studied the work of publishing houses there which specialise in Oriental publications. The younger son, Mr. V. N. Sardesai, M. A., I. C. S., Bar-at-Law, is now a District Judge at Dhulia. I am quite confident that these two worthy sons of a worthy father, would carry on and further develop the work of the Oriental Book Agency in the interest of Sanskrit Literature and Learning.

A TRIBUTE TO THE LATE DR. N. G. SARDESAI

By Rajasevasakta, Dewan Bahadur
Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar

Dr. N. G. Sardesai, entered life as a Medical man and having served for some years in the East, Malaya and Singapore, he started a Pharmacy of his own and set up private practice in Poona. Along with this, his own professional work, he got interested in Oriental literature, went about collecting books of interest to Oriental scholars and set up the Oriental Book Agency, Poona, perhaps as a second string to his bow. His interest in this grew so much and so rapidly that it became the first business to occupy his mind, his work as a Medical Practitioner subsiding to the second rank. In later years this had got to be much more emphasised as his eldest son took a Medical Degree and joined the business. During later years his interests grew more more in Oriental books and studies that people generally knew him as Proprietor and Manager of the Oriental Book Agency, Poona, rather, as a practicing medical man. We met him at the first Oriental Conference and functions connected with the foundation of the Bhandharkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona in 1919. The chance-aquaintance grew gradually into friendship when he came to see us along with a few friends while the Third Oriental Conference was in Session at Madras. The sympathetic interest that he then evinced grew, as the years went, into friendship improved by a few days stay that we had made in Poona, on the occasion of the Indian Historical Records Commission meeting in 1924. Thereafter it was a matter of deepening interest in each other and a ripening friendship. For the score of years that followed till his lamented death in January last it was genuine friendship both ways. He was deeply interested in the progress of our work evoking a sincere reciprocity in his business and projects for the promotion of the Oriental studies. We met at the various sessions of the Oriental Conference and on other occasion of scholarly conferences. We remember vividly the three or four occasions when we enjoyed his hospitality in his own house.

His interest in our writings and publications were active and beneficial. He had the benefit of the fullest discussion with us

in the starting of the *Poona Orientalist* under the talented editoship of the late Dr. Har Datt Sharma who, alas passed away just a short time before the good doctor. In illustration of his personal affection for us we may mention here that on an occasion some years ago when we were proceeding to Lahore to attend a meeting late in December, he was at the Poona Station early, on a peculiarly cold morning under a heavy dew and put a bottle of pills into our overcoat pocket with the advice that a pill or two may be taken if there should be any indication of heart affection in the extreme cold of Lahore. He thought it necessary as we were not in our normal health owing to a recent illness. Another good office worth mentioning was his repeated advice, during a few years, that ultimately resulted in the publication of the two volumes of the collection of the papers published by us during 40 years of our active work (1900–1940). The expenses of the publication and the impossibility of the rapid sale, in this country, of a work like that were alike deterrent. He overcame all that and got the publication through just the year before his death.

At first he was described to us as a keen business-man with an eye to his profit ; but we discovered through the years of intimate friendship that, while keen in business, his heart beat with sympathy and affection for all about him. His death came to him without our knowing that he was ill at all, and what added to the keenness of the sorrow is our discovery that he was more than two years junior to us in point of age. We wish his family our sincere sympathy in their bereavement, and wish them all prosperity in life, the heavy calamity notwithstanding.

THE LATE Dr. N. G. SARDESAI

By D. V. Apte, B. A.

Suptd., Ānandāśrama, Poona.

I was introduced to Dr. N. G. Sardesai at Yeotmal in 1905 A. D. by a friend of mine, Mr. K. B. Desai. For the next two years I had full opportunity of watching and studying Dr. Sardesai. In a few months I could see that he was a forceful personality and was bound to leave his mark in any society with which he may come in contact. What interested us most, in

those days, was that although he was a medical practitioner by profession, he was deeply interested in Sanskrit literature and in questions bearing on Indian culture. His early and impressionable life was spent at Pandharpur under the supervision of a very respectable and religious lady. The seeds of love and reverence for our traditional religious life and culture were sown in his heart at Pandharpur, and throughout his life he may be said to have been guided by the unconscious mission imbibed by him in his early youth at the holy place. But at Yeotmal much of his time was spent in his professional work and his opinions on our culture were only made known to the public in the form of his occasional lectures. I remember to have seen Mr. M. S. Aney, the present High Commissioner for Ceylone acting as President for one of his lectures. From Yeotmal Dr. Sardesai went to Penang in the capacity of the Civil Surgeon. From there he returned to India in 1910, and after spending a year or two at Ichalkaranji he finally settled at Poona in 1913.

At about the same time I also happened to be in Poona and we were again brought together as old-acquaintances. Although a successful medical practitioner Dr. Sardesai's heart longed for serving the cause of Oriental studies. His ideas soon took definite shape and the well-known Oriental Book Agency is the fruit of his untiring efforts in this direction.

In Poona he came in close contact with several institutions and naturally he became fairly acquainted with their strong as well as weak points. He could see that the financial side of an institution must be laid on a sound footing if it is to function for a long time. His instinctive business capacity enabled him to make his institution financially self-supporting in a few years. But he knew that a cultural institution like his own, must first of all come in contact with Scholars interested in Oriental Studies. He secured this by his constant and careful correspondence. His travels all over the country also helped him much.

In a few years his Agency became a centre of reference on various points connected with Oriental Studies to Scholars working on various subjects not only in India, but in Europe and America also. Later on he realised the necessity of having some

competent co-operator and successor for the institution. He marked out his elder son Baburao, now Dr. R. N. Sardesai, for this purpose. To equip him properly and efficiently for this work, Baburao was not only given opportunities to travel all over India in connection with the conferences of Oriental Scholars ; but also to proceed to Europe to get personally acquainted with Oriental workers there.

The hospitable and social temper of Dr. N. G. Sardesai also deserves notice. It was not an unusual sight to see some eight or ten guests at his house, at one time, and to see our Annasaheb spending all his time in looking after their comfort and convenience. For several years, no doubt this helped him in his business. During the last four or five years, however, this proved to be a sort of nuisance to him. His health was decidedly deteriotating and he needed seclusion and rest. But his large circle of friends in Poona and elsewhere made this impossible. The result was that he became tired of life.

But he had already fulfilled the mission of his life and felt sure that the Oriental Book Agency and the '*Poona Orientalist*' had a bright future under the guidance of Baburao. Dr. N. G. Sardesai's friends also have no doubt that his son will worthily fulfil sacred the wishes of his father.

डॉ. न. गो. सरदेसाई, अण्णासाहेब-महोदयानां परलोकवासः ।

ना. वा. तुंगार, काव्यतीर्थ, संस्कृतवाचस्पति, साहित्यभूषण, पालीतीर्थ.

' एकत्र सर्वे गुणाः न वसन्ति ' एतस्य आभाणकस्य अपवादं दर्शयितुं परमेश्वरेण इमे डॉक्टरमहाशयाः निर्मिताः । शील–औदार्य–दया–दाक्षिण्य–परोपकार-संस्कृतभाषाप्रचारादिभिः सद्‌गुणैः विभूषिताः उज्वलतमया कीर्त्या च महाराष्ट्रं भूषयन्तः पाञ्चभौतिकं देहं विसृज्य, २२-१-१९४३ दिने परलोकमगच्छन् इति मे मनः सहस्रधा विदीर्यते । महात्मनां चरित्रं वाचकान् पवित्रयति, आल्हादयति चित्तं तेषाम् , सन्मार्गे प्रवर्तयति चित्तवृत्तिं च । कोल्हापुरसंस्थाने सावरीग्रामे देवळेकरसरदेसाईकुले इमे संभूताः, बाल्ये वयसि पितॄणां समीपे

मराठीभाषाध्ययनम् अकुर्वन् । ततः पंढरपुरक्षेत्रे मातृष्वसुः समीपे उषित्वा आङ्ग्ल-पंचमश्रेणीपर्यन्तं सम्यक् अभ्यस्य, तत्रैव च संस्कृतभाषां समीचीनां सम्पाद्य, आत्मनः जन्मसाफल्यम् अकुर्वन् । सन १८८९ संवत्सरादारभ्य स. १८९२ पर्यन्तं न्यू. इं. स्कूल, पुणें, इत्यत्र अध्ययनं कृत्वा मॅट्रिकपरीक्षायां समुत्तीर्णाः डॉक्टर-महाशयाः । ततः सन १९०२ संवत्सरे एल्. एम्. अन्ड एस्. पदवीम् अलभन्त । अनन्तरं पंढरपुर, पिनांग (१९०८–१९१०), इचलकरंजीसंस्थान, इत्यत्र 'सर्जन' पदे नियुक्ताः आसन्, तदा ते आत्मनः वात्सल्यपरिपूर्णेन आचारेण, विनोदेन, व्यवहारचातुर्येण, बुद्धिवैभवेन च तान् तान् जनान् प्राहर्षयन् इति प्रसिद्धम् । सन १९१३ संवत्सरे एतेषां भार्या मृता, तस्मिन् काले एका कन्या, द्वौ पुत्रौ च आसन् । एतेषां बाल्यात् प्रभृति विशेषतः संस्कृतभाषायां तथा च पाली–अर्धमागधीभाषायां, प्राचीनशास्त्रिषु च, प्रगाढा श्रद्धा आसीत् । अतः ते सन १९२५ संवत्सरे पुण्यपत्तने 'ओरिएन्टल् बुक एजन्सी' इति नाम्नीं संस्थाम् अस्थापयन्, अनया च संस्थया दुर्लभसंस्कृत–पाली–अर्धमागधी ग्रन्थानां प्रापणेन ते ते पण्डिताः संस्थाश्च उपकृताः इति प्रत्यक्षम्, अनेन कारणेन एषा संस्था डॉक्टरमहाशयाश्च सर्वेषु देशेषु प्रसिद्धाः ।

विद्यार्थिषु, सामान्यजनेषु च संस्कृतभाषाध्ययनवृत्तिं द्रढयितुं उत्पादयितुं च ग्रन्थमालापि प्रचालिता एभिः । यैः किल डॉक्टरमहाशयानां लोकोत्तरगुणाः प्रत्यक्षीकृताः ते ध्रुवं तेषां सर्वातिशायि माहात्म्यं निश्चिनुयुः । निखिलगुणाधाराणां तेषां डॉ. बाबुराव, श्री. बापूसाहेब, इति गुणिनौ, विद्वांसौ, सहृदयौ, परोप-कारिणौ, विद्याभिलाषिणौ, च पुत्रौ वर्तेते, तयोः डॉ. बाबूरावमहोदयाः पितृभिः स्थापितां ओ. बु. ए. संस्थां सम्यक् प्रचालयन्ति, श्री. बापूसाहेबसरदेसाई-महाशया, आय्. सी. एस्., धुळे इत्यत्र 'न्यायाधीशाः' वर्तन्ते ।

संस्कृतभाषायाः प्रचारः कदा भवेत् ।

एकदा आंग्लशिक्षिताः संस्कृतप्राध्यापकाः 'संस्कृतभाषायाः सर्वत्र प्रचारः कदा भवेत्', आंग्लविद्यालयेषु पाली–अर्धमागधी, पर्शियन, फ्रेंच, इत्यादीनां यत् अध्ययनं प्रचलति तेन संस्कृतभाषायाः अध्ययनं न भवति तथा आंग्ल-भाषानभिज्ञानां शास्त्रिणाम् अध्यापनेन यादृशमपेक्षते संस्कृताध्यापनं तादृशं न भवति इति यत् मतं तत्सत्यं वा असत्यं, इति डॉक्टरमहाशयान् अपृच्छन् । तदा डॉक्टरमहाशयाः अब्रुवन् ।

व्यवहारे आंग्लशिक्षितानां संस्कृतपण्डितानां प्राचीनसंस्कृतशास्त्रिवर्गे या अस्पृश्यताबुद्धिः सा संस्कृतभाषायाः प्रचारार्थे महते अनर्थाय जाता इति मे मतम्, सा यदा समूलं नश्येत् तदा संस्कृतभाषायाः प्रचारः अवश्यं भवेत्। शास्त्रिणां समीपे अध्ययनं कृत्वा अथवा तत्सदृशमुपयुक्तं अध्ययनं कृत्वा प्रावीण्यं सम्पाद्य ये इदानीम् अध्यापनं कुर्वन्ति तान् विहाय कति वा सन्ति प्राध्यापकाः, शिक्षकाः च रामायण–महाभारत–काव्य–नाटकालंकार–छन्दो–व्याकरणादीनां ज्ञातारः। केषां प्राध्यापकानां, अध्यापकानां च कण्ठस्थाः ते ते सर्वे शब्दाः, सर्वेषां धातूनां सर्वाणि रूपाणि, अथवा संस्कृतसुभाषितानि। यदा एतत्सर्वम् औदासीन्यं नश्येत् तदा संस्कृतभाषायाः प्रचारः भवेत्। यैः अध्यापकैः विद्यार्थिदशायां संस्कृतपरीक्षोत्तरणदृष्ट्या यत् अल्पं ज्ञानं सम्पादितं तेन ज्ञानेन ते छात्रेषु संस्कृतभाषारुचिं समुत्पादयितुं कदापि न शक्नुयुः इति मे मतम्। केवलं परीक्षोत्तरणमेव ध्येयं विद्याविनाशाय एव भवति। यथा इंग्लिश, जर्मन, फ्रेंच, एतासु भाषासु संस्कृतग्रन्थानां भाषांतरं वर्तते तथा मराठी–भाषायां सर्वं संस्कृतवाङ्मयं भाषान्तरितं यदा भवेत् तदा संस्कृतभाषायाः प्रचारो भवेत्। शास्त्रिणः प्राध्यापकाश्च शास्त्रेषु एव प्रज्ञामुपयुज्य वेदस्य अध्ययने, तस्य अर्थज्ञाने च उदासीनाः, तेन वेदार्थज्ञानसंपादनं कठिनमिति जनानां मतं संजातम्। एवं वेदाध्ययनाध्यापनलोपे सर्वः दोषः पण्डितेषु समापतति। एतत्सर्वं यदा नश्येत् तदा संस्कृतभाषायाः प्रचारो भवेत्। केचन अल्पज्ञाः संकुचितमतय एवं वदन्ति यत् छात्रैः पाली-अर्धमागधी–प्राकृत-इत्यादीनां भाषाणाम् अध्ययनं न कर्तव्यम्। तद्बाधकं संस्कृतभाषायाः। परंत्विदं मूर्खजल्पितं, युक्तिरहितं च दृश्यते। भाषाज्ञानार्थं, शब्दव्युत्पत्तिज्ञानार्थं, धर्म-ज्ञानार्थं, इतिहासज्ञानार्थं, शिलालेख–ताम्रपट–इत्यादीनां ज्ञानार्थं एतासां भाषाणाम् अध्ययनमतीव आवश्यकम् इति कै. सर् डॉ. भांडारकराणां स्पष्टं मतम् आसीत् तथा च युरोपियसंस्कृतपण्डितानां मतं वर्तते। पाणिनिः 'शिक्षाग्रन्थे' वदति, प्राकृते संस्कृतेचापि स्वयं प्रोक्ताः स्वयंभुवा। पाणिनिकाले प्राकृतं संस्कृतबाधकं न आसीत्। आद्यशंकराचार्यैः अपि प्राकृतभाषाविषये आदरः एव प्रदर्शितः।

सम्पूर्णं जगदेव नन्दनवनं सर्वेऽपि कल्पद्रुमाः
गांगं वारि समस्तवारिनिवहाः पुण्याः समस्ताः क्रियाः।

वाचः प्राकृत-संस्कृताः श्रुतिशिरो वाराणसी भेदिनी
सर्वावस्थितिरस्य वस्तुविषया दृष्टे परब्रह्मणि ॥ १ ॥

यदा एतत्सर्वं औदासीन्यं नश्येत् तदा संस्कृतभाषायाः प्रचारः भवेत्।

आंग्लभाषाशिक्षणार्थं समुचितद्रव्याभावात् संस्कृतपाठशालायां काव्य-नाटक-व्याकरण-न्याय-मीमांसा-वेदांतादिशास्त्राध्ययनं कृत्वा उत्तीर्णसंस्कृतपरीक्षाः लब्धसंस्कृतपदवीकाः, सदा लक्ष्मीसरस्वत्योः विरोधम् अनुभवन्तः अत एव जटिलाः, तापसान् अनुकुर्वन्तः, महता दैन्येन कष्टेन च उपजीविकां कुर्वाणाः, चिरकालशास्त्राध्ययनकृतपरिश्रमाः प्राप्तशास्त्रतत्त्वरहस्याः, राम-कृष्ण-पाण्डवादि-सच्चरित्राद्युपवर्णनेन तथा च अहिल्या-द्रौपदी-सीता-इत्याद्यादर्शरूपाणां स्त्रीणां वर्णनेन च जनेषु भक्तिमुत्पादयन्तः, संस्कृतपण्डिताः, सदा संस्कृतभाषाप्रचाराय प्रयतमानाः वर्तन्ते। एते इंग्लिशभाषां न जानन्ति इति नव्याः संस्कृतपंडिताः तान् निरुपयोगिनः, इति संबोधयन्ति। अतः इतरे जनाः अपि तेषामनुकरणं कुर्वन्ति। तेन गुरुरूपाः शास्त्रिणः प्रायः नष्टाः, ये वर्तन्ते तान् द्विषन्ति एते। एतादृशी स्थितिः यदा नश्येत् तदा संस्कृत भाषायाः प्रचारो भवेत्।

एतद्दोषनिवारणाय अहं कथयामि उपायान्। (१) प्रायः पोषकाः (पालकाः) बालानां शालाप्रेषणेन आत्मानं धन्यं मन्यन्ते, तत्सर्वथा अयोग्यम् आवश्यकं कर्तव्यं ते विस्मरन्ति। गृहे प्रौढ—स्त्रीपुरुषैः स्नानपानभोजनवाचनलेखन-निरीक्षणभाषणादिविषये नित्यं सदाचारः अनुष्ठेयः, यतः अनुकरणशीलाः खलु बालाः। (२) शालायां, कॉलेजाख्ये विद्यालये च गुरुभिः अथवा आचार्यैः च स्वोपदेशानुसारिभिः आचरणशीलैः भाव्यम्। ते एव 'आचार्य' संज्ञाम् अर्हन्ति ये नीतिविहितं कर्म स्वयमाचरन्ति अन्यैः अन्यान् वा आचारयन्ति। न तु मनस्येकं वचस्येकं, आचारे च अन्यत्। (३) जीविकासमस्यापूरणं प्रथमं कर्तव्यं, तत् स्वीयसंस्कृतित्यागेन, संस्कृतिरक्षकसंस्कृतपंडितपरिहासेन वा संपादयितुं न शक्यते, न च अंधपरंपरया यौरोपीयानां आचारस्वीकारेण वा। यत्सत्यम् इदानीं या कापि महत्त्वाकांक्षा जागर्ति चेत् सर्वेषु, स्फुरतिचेत् वीरो रसः, तर्हि एव जीवितसाफल्यं भवेत्।

प्राध्यापकाः अवदन्—यथा सर्वेषु प्रान्तेषु राजकीयसंस्कृतमहाविद्यालयः परीक्षाः च वर्तन्ते, तथा मुंबईप्रान्ते राजकीयसंस्कृतमहाविद्यालयः, परीक्षा च न वर्तते तस्य किं कारणम्। डॉक्टरमहाशयाः अवदन्—मुंबईप्रान्ते ये आंग्लशिक्षिताः

राजकीयसंस्थासु विश्वविद्यालयेषु च आसन् इदानीं वा बर्तन्ते प्रायः ते संस्कृतभाषानभिज्ञाः, अन्ये ये सूचकाः अनुमोदकाः च, संस्कृतभाषाभिज्ञाः प्राध्यापकाः आसन् इदानीं तु वर्तन्ते, ते आत्मनः वैशिष्ट्यं नश्येत्, आत्मनः संस्कृतभाषायाः अल्पज्ञत्वं बहिः प्रकटीभवेत् अनया भीत्या एव राजकीयसंस्कृतमहाविद्यालयसंस्थापनविरोधिनः तस्मात् मुंबईप्रान्ते राजकीयसंस्कृतमहाविद्यालयो न विद्यते। मुंबईप्रान्ते हायस्कुले–कॉलेजाख्ये च विद्यालये यत् संस्कृतभाषाध्ययनं प्रचलति तत् माहंमदीयानां कृपया एव। तेषां मते माहंमदीयैः छात्रैः पर्शियनभाषाध्ययनं कर्तव्यं तदर्थं च तैः प्रयतितं, अतः राजसंस्थया मध्यमविद्यालये पर्शियनभाषाध्ययनं स्थापितं, तेन च सह संस्कृतभाषाध्ययनम्। एतादृशी परिस्थितिः यदा नश्येत् तदा संस्कृतप्रचारः भवेत्।

प्राध्यापकाः अब्रुवन्—सर्वेषु प्रान्तेषु बहवः महामहोपाध्यायाः विद्यन्ते तथापि मुंबईप्रान्ते अल्पे एव वर्तन्ते तस्य किं कारणम्। डॉक्टरमहाशया अवदन्—राजकीय कॉलेजाख्ये विद्यालये संस्कृतप्राध्यापकाः 'इमे प्राचीनसंस्कृतपण्डिताः महामहोपाध्यायपदवीयोग्याः' इति यदा राजसंस्थायै कथयेयुः तदा राजसंस्था तेभ्यः पण्डितेभ्यः 'महामहोपाध्याय'-पदवीं ददाति, परन्तु 'बोद्धारो मत्सरग्रस्ताः' इति न्यायेन अथवा आत्मनः वैशिष्ट्यं नश्येत् मौर्ख्यं च बहिः प्रकटीभवेत् इति भिया पदवीप्रदानविषये सदा विरोधं दर्शयन्ति। इदानीं 'महामहोपाध्याय'-पदवीप्रदानार्थं योग्याः पंडिताः सन्ति इत्यत्र सन्देहलेशोऽपि नास्ति इति मे मतम्। संस्कृतभाषाप्रचारार्थं प्रयत्नमकृत्वा प्रत्युत विरोधं कृत्वा एतादृशी अत्यन्तं हीना परिस्थितिः समागता इति वदन्तः बहवः आंग्लशिक्षिताः संस्कृतपंडिताः अपंडिताश्च दृश्यन्ते, तत् सर्वथा अयोग्यम् लज्जाकरं इति मे मतम्। यदि भवतां मनसि संस्कृतविद्याविषयकः, संस्कृतविद्यारक्षितॄणां शास्त्रीपंडितविषयकः आदरः वर्तते, यदि जागर्ति युष्माकं चित्तेषु संस्कृतभाषाविषयकप्रेमा, तर्हि पारस्परिकं वैरभावं, संकुचितबुद्धिं च त्यक्त्वा सर्वैः यावच्छक्यं मुंबईप्रान्ते राजकीयसंस्कृतमहाविद्यालयसंस्थापनार्थं तथा च हायस्कुल-कॉलेज इत्यत्र पुनः शास्त्रिभ्यः अध्यापकपदप्रदानार्थं विश्वविद्यालयपरीक्षकपददानार्थं च प्रयत्नः नित्यं विधेयः। एतादृशप्रयत्नेन इतरप्रान्तवत् मुंबईप्रान्तेऽपि संस्कृतभाषाप्रचारः अवश्यं भवेत् इति वयं दृढं विश्वसिमः इति।

अन्ते च डॉक्टरमहाशयानां पुत्रपौत्रादीन् ईश्वरः सर्वथा तदनुगुणानेव करोतु इति आशासे।

EXTRACTS FROM CONDOLATORY LETTERS

By Dr. R. N. Sardesai

Numerous condolatory letters were received by me and my younger brother Mr. V. N. Sardesai, M. A., Bar-at-Law, I. C. S., on account of the death of our revered father Dr. N. G. Sardesai on 22–1–1943. A few extracts from them are given below which will show in what high esteem he was held by his friends, scholars and benefactors. The letters are divided into two sections : I. Individuals, and II. Institutions.

I. Individuals

आपले वडील डॉ. नरहरपंत सरदेसाई कैलासवासी झाल्याचें वृत्त आम्हांस वृत्तपत्रांवरून समजून फार खेद झाला. त्यांचा व आमचा फार स्नेह होता. डॉ. सरदेसाई हे संस्कृत वाङ्मयाचे अत्यंत अभिमानी गृहस्थ होते व त्यांचे निधनामुळें प्राचीन संस्कृत वाङ्मयाचा एक पुरस्कर्ता नाहींसा झाला आहे. आपलेवर जी ही दैवी आपत्ति कोसळली आहे, तींत आम्हीं सहभागी आहोंत. ईश्वर मृतात्म्यास शांति देवो असें आम्हीं इच्छितों.

औंध, ता. २७–१–४३. }

भवानराव,
Rajesaheb of Aundh

* * *

(Letter received thro' R. B. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.)

पुण्याचे डॉ. सरदेसाई ॲनीमियाचे विकारानें निवर्तल्याचें दुःखदायक वृत्त आजचे वर्तमानपत्रांत वाचावयास मिळालें. त्यांचा व माझा चांगला परिचय होता व ते कांहीं वर्षें येथें डॉक्टर म्हणून काम करीत होते व त्यामुळें मला त्यांचेबद्दल विशेष अगत्य वाटत असे. त्यांच्या निधनाची वार्ता ऐकून फार वाईट वाटलें. असो, ईश्वरी इच्छेपुढें इलाज नाहीं. त्यांचे मुलांना माझा दुखवट्याचा संदेश कळवावा.

इचलकरंजी, ता. २४–१–४३. }

नारायणराव बाबासाहेब घोरपडे,
Rajesaheb of Ichalkaranji.

* * *

(Telegram recd. thro' Mr. D. V. Apte of आनंदाश्रम, Poona.)

Extremely sorry at the death of Dr. Sardesai. He was very much respected at Yeotmal thirty years ago both as Medical Practioner and profound Sanskrit Scholar. Kindly convey sympathies to surviving members of his family in their bereavement.

New Delhi, 30–1–43. *M. S. Aney*

* * *

I am very much grieved to hear of the sudden death of your father on the 22nd instant. I am really very sorry as he might well have gone on for a number of years more. Convey my sympathy to your wife etc.

Madras, 29–1–43. *S. K. Aiyangar*

* * *

I send you and your family my sincere condolences on the demise of your revered father. He devoted his life and fortune to the revival of Oriental culture and the Oriental Book Agency would shine as his worthy monument now entrusted to your care.

Calcutta, 14–8–43. *Kalidas Nag*

* * *

It is most painful to learn of the very sudden passing away of Dr. Sardesai. He was a dear friend of mine. With the passing away of Dr. Sukthankar and Dr. Sardesai, Poona has lost its charm for me. Kindly convey my feelings to your brother also.

Lahore, 5–2–43. *Raghu Vir*

* * *

I am very sorry to hear that your revered father is no more. Through the Oriental Book Agency, of which he was the founder, he rendered invaluable help to Orientalists both in India and abroad. What if he was 70 years old? The older the dearer! Perhaps you will be able to derive some consolation from the fact that he has left behind him numerous friends and admirers to share your sorrows.

Guntur, 21–3–43. ***Saileswar Sen***

* * *

I do not know in what adequate words to write to you about the sad demise of one of my intimate friends, your revered father. I think it is not only a personal loss to us but a great national loss.

Allahabad, 19–2–43. ***R. D. Ranade***

The news of the death of the late lamented Dr. N. G. Śardesai has given us utmost pain and sorrow. His death is a distinct loss to scholarship in India—as his services in supplying books to scholars in India were invaluable. He had attempted to make this service as perfect as possible.

Calcutta, 8-2-43. *O. C. Gangoly*

* * *

I have received the ill news and my wife is shocked by it, for we were not prepared for such a sudden calamity. Your father was a saint; let his soul rest in peace; you are his worthy son.

Jaipur, 8-2-43. *D. C. Dutt*

* * *

I was extremely sorry to hear of the sad demise of your father. He has rendered valuable services to the cause of Oriental studies. The firm which he founded and developed to its present status, enjoys quite a respectable status in India and serves the needs of many students. His venture of Poona Orientalist was the other obligation conferred on the Indologists. May his soul repose in peace and tranquillity.

Karachi, 10-2-43. *D. R. Mankad*

* * *

I am very sorry to hear the sad demise of your revered father who was himself a great scholar and a friend of scholars too. It is really a great loss to the literary circle but I am sure you being a worthy son of the worthy father, will continue the service of the Goddess of Learning undertaken by late Dr. N. G. Sardesai. May God give the departed soul eternal peace!

Jodhpur, 2-3-43. *Bisheshwarnath Reu*

* * *

I was so shocked to hear the sudden demise of your dear father. He has lived his life full of honours and sacrifices in the good cause of Oriental learning. I have no doubt he will watch over you from above and guide you well in all your undertakings.

Madras, 5-2-43. *P. P. S. Sastri*

* * *

I am greatly distressed to hear of the death of your father. Please accept my deepest sympathy in your sad loss.

Bombay, 29-1-43. *L. Sternbach*

* * *

I was shocked to learn that my friend—your father—had passed away. I cannot forget the smiling face with which he always received me. May he find peace !

Delhi, 29-1-43. *Lachmidhar Shastri*

* * *

To-day, *Kesari* brings the very sad news of your revered father's death. Sanskrit learning has lost in him an indefatigable worker and an enthusiastic supporter who spared neither time nor money in its cause. The Oriental Book Agency founded by him, has brought within the easy reach of many the treasures of Sanskrit classics and the works of European Savants. May his example continue to inspire you in your work.

Nagpur, 27-1-43. *V. V. Mirashi*

* * *

I am so sorry to get your sad letter of the 23rd inst. and to know your good father is no more. I never expected that his demise would have been so sudden and unexpected. I hope God will give you sufficient strength of mind to bear with the great loss and will prosper you in your profession and business as He has prospered your father.

Annamalainagar, 26-1-43. *C. S. Srinivasachari*

* * *

The news about your dear father and the news about Dr. Sukthankar, both, as it were, at one stroke, left a great blank in my mind. I doubt if the void could ever be adequately filled either for Poona itself or the Indological World. I feel too keenly about the matter to be able to write about it. Prayers and faith alone can help—my cordial sympathy and prayer and good will are at your service.

Thana, 3-2-43. *H. O. Mascarenhas*

* * *

It is a sbock to me to learn your worthy father passed away so suddenly. He was a very dear person, and a dear friend to me for many years. I don't know how to offer you consolation, but I can assure you that I feel deeply for you. Mrs. De also sends you her deepest sympathies.

Dacca, 2-2-43. *S. K. De*

*   *   *

Kindly accept my very sincere condolences on the sad demise of your father. All the Orientalists owe a deep debt of gratitude to him for the distinguished service he has rendered to Indology by his efforts. The Oriental Book Agency has been the premier Sanskrit Book-selling agency, and instead of being a mere commercial firm, which other Book-sellers agencies are, it has been a centre of cultural activity, bringing the wisdom of ancient India to the present generation. Few scholars can legitimately claim the right to the gratitude of the nation for the service to the cause of Indology which Dr. Sardesai can claim. I hereby express my profound sorrow at the departure of such a noble soul.

Madras, 6-2-43. *C. Kunhan Raja*

*   *   *

I was very sorry to learn recently that your father expired sometime in the last month. He had done great work as a Publisher and research-worker and I did not expect that with his splendid health, he would quit us soon. But God's Will is there !

Benares H. Uni., 11-2-43. *A. S. Altekar*

*   *   *

I am very sorry to learn the sad news of the untimely demise of your revered father who was the very soul of the firm. He was very kind to his customers and scholars. Kindly accept my sincere and hearty condolences,

Belgaum, 6-3-43. *S. C. Nandimath*

*   *   *

The death of Dr. N. G. Sardesai has been a great shock to me. When I met him last, he was on the way to recovery but God willed for him a permanent rest; let His will be done. Every time I met him I was impressed by his cheerful nature, his optimistic outlook on life and his dynamic personality. I have lost in him a personal friend and guide; how much more will be the loss of yours and your family! I sympathise with you in your bereavement.

Sholapur, 3-2-43. *H. L. Auluck*

* * *

I was extremely shocked to hear from Prof. Ranade to-day of the sad demise of your revered father who was a great lover of Sanskrit learning and was a personal friend to so many of us! He will be deeply mourned all over the country.

Allahabad, 29-1-43. *K. Chattopadhyaya*

* * *

I am extremely sorry to learn the death of your father, our dear Annasaheb. His services to Oriental Scholarship stand as a great monument, and, will ever be remembered by every student of Oriental culture with a feeling of respect and admiration.

Baroda, 29-1-43. *G. H. Bhatt*

* * *

I am extremely sorry to read in the *Kesari* of the sad passing away of your father. Kindly allow me to offer my condolences in your sad bereavement. I hope that you will worthily carry on the great work of Oriental publications carried for so many years by your father.

Bombay, 26-1-43. *P. V. Kane*

* * *

डॉ. अप्णासाहेबांस देवाज्ञा झाल्याचें ज्ञानप्रकाशांत वाचून वाईट वाटलें. यांच्याशीं गेलीं १२ वर्षें माझा संबंध आला व या अवधींत त्यांच्या अंगचे प्रेमळपणा, सरलता व साधेपणा हे गुण माझ्या प्रत्ययास आले. जगरहाटीप्रमाणें आपण समाधान मानून त्यांचें प्राच्य ग्रंथप्रकाशनाचें कार्य अधिक जोमानें चालवाल अशी आशा आहे. आपल्या सर्व आप्तेष्टांच्या दुःखांत मी वांटेकरी आहे.

वडोदें, ता. २५-१-४३. चिंतामण विनायक जोशी

आपल्या वडिलांच्या मृत्युमुळें दुःखांत असलेल्या कुटुंबियांना मला एवढेंच सांगावयाचें आहे कीं, त्यांच्या गुणांमुळें अनेकांचा संबंध डॉक्टराशीं आला होता आणि अशी कितीतरी मंडळी आपल्या दुःखांत समभागी आहेत. त्यांच्यामुळें संस्कृत ग्रंथांचा दुर्मिळ संग्रह विद्वानांना मिळणें शक्य झालें होतें. हें कार्य असेंच पुढें नेटानें कसें चालेल, याची जबाबदारी आतां आपणांवर येऊन पडलेली आहे. आपल्या वडिलांच्या मृत्यूमुळें कोणीतरी जवळचा हरपला असें माझ्या मनाला वाटत आहे.

पुणें, ता. २४-१-४३. } ना. भि. परुळेकर
(Editor–सकाळ)

* * *

II. Institutions

"It is with deep regret that we, the members of the Advisory Committee and Staff of this Institution, have learnt of the sad demise of Dr. N. G. Sardesai, L. M. & S.

We realise that in him, India has lost an enthusiastic friend of literature and learning, who himself a scholar, had identified himself with the cause of Indian philology. The Scindia Oriental Institute particularly has lost in the deceased its earliest Benefactor, to whom we owe among others, a number of important old Mss. and much valuable guidance."

Ujjain, 2-3-43. } *C. Krause,*
Curator, Scindia Or. Institute

* * *

At a special meeting of the Sanskrit Association of the P. R. College, Cocanada, held on 3rd February 1943, it was resolved to place on record its sense of grief at the heavy loss recently sustained by the world of Oriental learning, in the sad and untimely demise of Dr. N. G. Sardesai, L. M. & S., Founder, 'The Oriental Book Agency', 'Poona Oriental Series' and 'The Poona Orientalist' and Mahamahopadhyaya Madhava Shastri Bhandhari, Principal Oriental College, Lahore.

Cocanada, 5-2-43. } *E. V. Vira Raghavacharya,*
Vice-President.

* * *

The members of the staff and students of the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, record with deep regret the passing away of an old Deccanite in Dr. N. G. Sardesai, on Friday the 22nd instant. By his own personal efforts he built up a great Publishing concern, the Oriental Book Agency, Poona, and though a medical practitioner, he devoted his entire life for the promotion of Oriental studies in India. As publisher. scholar and editor he has left a great heritage, and a shining example to all alike. His death removes one of the founders of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and a most ardent supporter of Indological Studies in India.

Poona, 23-1-43. } *S. M. Katre,*
Director, Deccan College, P. G. R. I.

* * *

" The Executive Board puts on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sad demise on 22nd January 1943 of Dr. N. G. Sardesai, L. M. & S., who rendered valuable services to the Institute since its foundation in several capacities. He was the Treasurer of the Institute from 1915–1921, a member of the Working Committee, 1915–1918, a member of the Executive Board 1918–1921, and a member of the Regulating Council for several years. As the founder and Proprietor of the " Oriental Book Agency " and the publisher of several volumes in the 'Poona Oriental Series' and of the 'Poona Orientalist' Dr. Sardesai has ably served the cause of Oriental learning during the last twenty-five years.

Poona, 2-3-43. } *R. N. Dandekar,*
Secretary, B. O. R. I.

* * *

आपले प. पू. वडील डॉ. एन्. जी. सरदेसाई यांच्या निधनाबद्दल वैदिक संशोधन मंडळास अत्यंत दुःख होत आहे. आपल्या वडिलांच्या मृत्यूमुळें संस्कृत विद्येचा चाहता व अभिमानी नाहींसा झाला आहे. आपल्या कुटुंबाचें आपल्या वडिलांच्या मृत्यूमुळें नुकसान झालें असें नसून संस्कृत विद्येचे अभिमानी व चहातें यांचें नुकसान झालें आहे. आपल्या कुटुंबियांच्या दुःखांत वैदिक संशोधन मंडळ सहभागी आहे.

पुणें, ता. १।२।१९४३. } ना. श्री. सोनटक्के,
सेक्रेटरी, वैदिक संशोधन मंडळ

पुण्याचे डॉ. नरहर गोपाळ सरदेसाई यांच्या निधनामुळें राजवाडे संशोधन मंडळास खेद होत आहे. हे उत्तम संस्कृतज्ञ असून प्राच्यविद्येचे अभिमानी व संशोधक होते. प्राच्य व पाश्चात्य संशोधकांस प्राच्यविद्या-संशोधकांची परस्परांस ओळख व परिचय करून देण्याचे हेतूनें त्यांनीं 'ओरिएन्टल बुक एजन्सी' या नांवाचें ग्रंथविक्रीचें दुकान स्थापन करून उत्तम प्रकारें चालविलें, व प्राच्यविद्या-संशोधनासंबंधीं कित्येक लेख लिहून प्रसिद्ध केले. अशा विद्वान् गृहस्थाचे निधनानें प्राच्यविद्या-संशोधनाची हानि झाली आहे.

धुळें, ता. ३१।१।१९४३.

भास्कर वामन भट,
सेक्रेटरी, राजवाडे संशोधन मंडळ

* * *

पुणें येथील सुप्रसिद्ध नागरिक व प्राच्यविद्याभ्यासक डॉ. नरहर गोपाळ सरदेसाई हे ता. २२ जानेवारी १९४३ रोजीं कालवश झाले. डॉ. सरदेसाई यांनीं जावा, सुमात्रा इत्यादि ठिकाणीं प्रवास केला होता; व तेथील रामायणाची हिंदी रामायणाशीं तुलना करून त्यांनीं अनेक चिकित्सक लेख लिहिले होते. त्यांच्या कैलास-मानस-सरोवरापर्यंतच्या यात्रांचे वर्णनात्मक लेखहि केसरींतून प्रसिद्ध झाले आहेत. पुणें येथील जगत्प्रसिद्ध डॉ. भांडारकर प्राच्यविद्या-संशोधन मंदिरस्थापनेंत त्यांचा भाग असून प्राच्यविद्याविषयक संशोधन व ग्रंथप्रकाशन या बाबतींत त्यांनीं मोठी कामगिरी केली आहे.

पुणें, ता. १४।३।१९४३.

वा. दा. गोखले,
चिटणीस, महाराष्ट्र साहित्यपरिषद्

* * *

We have learnt with great regret lately of the sad demise of your revered father Dr. N. G. Sardesai, L. M. & S. He had been connected with us for several years past as one of our examiners at Poona and his services in that capacity were very valuable. He had helped very much to popularize and further our cause amongst enlightened public and his loss thus has been very great to us. We extend our heart-felt sympathies to yourself and members of your family in your sad bereavement.

Satara, 25-2-43.

K. Y. Joshi,
Manager,
Western India Life Insurance Co. Ltd.

SOME SANSKRIT VERSES REGARDING THE MANUFACTURE OF ROSE-WATER FOUND IN A MANUSCRIPT OF THE BHOJANA KUTŪHALA DATED ŚAKA 1773(= A.D. 1851)

P. K. Gode

The *Bhojana-Kutūhala*[1] of Ragunātha Gaṇeśa Navashasta (*1st Paricceda*) contains a section on the properties of different waters. This is called पानीयवर्ग. There are 3 MSS. of this *1st paricceda* before me for comparison viz. (1) MS. belonging to Rajavaidya Jagtap of Kolhapur dated *Śaka 1773* or A. D. *1851*, (2) another MS. from Jagtap collection belonging to Śāmji Nāyak Puṇḍe (C. A.D. 1680) and (3) a MS. dated A.D. 1803–No. 594 of 1899-1915 in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. The पानीयवर्ग referred to above is found in all these MSS., but the following extract called the "गुलाबोदकप्रकरण" or a section dealing with rose-water is found only in the first of the above copies of the work dated A. D. 1851. Presumably this extract is a later addition to Raghunātha's *Bhojanakutūhala* made by some one between A. D. *1803* and *1851*.

The extract under reference is found on folio 57^{a} inserted between the sections pertaining to "नारिकेल गुणाः" and "उषःपानादि-गुणाः". It reads as follows :—

"अथ गुलाबोदक[2] प्रकरणं तत्कारणं च
कुडवं शतपर्णानां विवृतं तत्र निक्षिपेत् ।
जल सप्तपलं पात्रे रौप्ये वंगं सुसंस्कृते ॥

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1. Vide my papers on this work and its author in *Journal of Bombay University*, X (New Series) Part 2, 1941; *Annals* (B. O. R. I.) XXII, 1942, pp. 254–263 and *Journal of Tanjore MSS. Library*, Vol. III. No. 2.

2. The word "गुलाब" means "*rose-water*". Raghunātha Paṇḍita in his राजव्यवहारकोश, III, 14 refers to गुलाब as "मकरंदो गुलाबः स्यात्". Evidently he understood "गुलाब" to mean "*rose-water*". In the extract quoted above, the word "गुलाब" means the "*rose-flower*" and "गुलाबोदक" means "*rose-water*". Raghunātha Paṇḍita composed the above lexicon by order of Shivaji the Great before A. D. 1674.

3. For a picture of दोलायंत्र Vide Plate II (10)—page 144 of *Aryan Medical Science* by Thakore Sahib of Gondal, London, 1896.

ताम्रजे वाथ तस्योर्ध्वं दोलायंत्रे निवेशयेत् ।
रौप्यपात्रे तदूर्ध्वं तु पश्चाद्रौप्यशरावया ॥
आच्छाद्य तन्मुखं रुध्वा समंतात्पाचयेच्छनैः ।
मृद्वग्निना मुहूर्तंतु पश्चादुद्धृत्य तज्जलम् ॥
रौप्यपात्रस्थितं विद्वानेष पुष्परसोवरः ।
सुसीतलः सुगंधश्च ग्रीष्मे वर्षात्यये तथा ॥
राज्ञा दाहप्रशांत्यर्थं गुलाबपरमाभिधः ।
पुष्पद्रवः सुरभिसीत कषायगौल्यो[1]
दाहश्रमार्तिवमिमोहमुखामयघ्नः ।
तृष्णार्तिं क (?)पित्तकफदोषहरः सरश्च
संतर्पणं चिरमरोचकहारकश्च ॥ "

When I found these verses in this MS. of A. D. 1851 I was convinced of their interpolated character but as no such verses have been found in any medical or allied works I wanted to publish them after making inquiries of Vaidya Gaṅgādhara Śāstri Gune of Ahmednagar if he had come across similar verses on the manufacture of rose-water in texts early or late. Vaidya Gaṅgādhar Śāstri replied in the negative. I am, therefore, publishing these verses with a request to other scholars to publish any other verses of this type if they are discovered hereafter. It may turn out that these are the only verses on the manufacture of rose-water so far found and hence they have their place in a historical study of the rose-flower in India to which I intend to devote a special paper in the near future.

I am unable to determine the authorship of the extract pertaining to the manufacture of rosewater as found in a Ms of A. D. 1851. It seems, however, that Vaidya Raghunathji Indraji alias Katābhaṭ was acquainted with the above extract or a portion of it, as will be seen from the following passage on p. 452 of his निघंट संग्रह published on 10th March 1893 at Junagad :—

1. Vide p. 181 (स्वस्थवृत्तपरिशिष्ट) of *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* (Sūtrasthāna) ed. by R. D. Kinjavadekar, Poona, 1940. Here Pt. Kinjavdekar quotes some verses (from the क्षेमकुतूहल of क्षेमशर्मन्—C. A. D. 1550) under पुष्पादिधारणम् in which the word गौलाल is used perhaps for rose-flower verse 34– "श्रीखण्डं चैव गौलालं" and verse 39—"गौलालं चम्पकं पुष्पं वातश्लेष्महरं परम् ".

" अथ पुष्पवर्गः......॥ अथ फलनो अर्क गुलाबजल आदिनां नाम ॥
पुष्पद्रवः पुष्पसारः पुष्पस्वेदश्च पुष्पजः ।
पुष्पनिर्यासकश्चैव पुष्पजश्च षडाह्वयः ॥
॥ गुणाः ॥ पुष्पद्रवः सरः शीतस्तु वरः श्रमदाहहा ।
वांतितृटपित्तरोगघ्नो मुखरोगविनाशनः ।
ग्रंथांतरे ॥ पुष्पद्रवः सुरभिशीतकषाय गौल्यौ
दाहभ्रमार्तिवमिमोहमुखामयघ्नः ।
तृष्णार्तिपित्तकफदोषहरः सरश्च
संतर्पणश्चिरमरोचक हारकश्च ॥ "

The last verse of the above extract is identical with the last verse of the previous extract regarding rose-water. As Vaidya Katābhaṭ merely introduces it with the remark " ग्रंथांतरे " I am unable to state the source from which he has quoted it in his book published 42 years after the Jagatāp MS. of the भोजन कुतूहल. Evidently the process of extracting rose-water given in the extract under reference shows that the author of the extract was thoroughly familiar with it. The rose-flower appears to have become popular in the Deccan during the Peshwa period of the Maratha history. In a poem[1] composed by Bhagavantrao Yādava in praise of Nānāsāheb Peshwa we find the following verse containing a reference to गुलाब :—

" होती फार गुलाब चंपक तरू अरविंदही सेविती । "

In spite of the increasing acquaintance of the Poona court with the rose-flower in the 18th century it is doubtful if any

1. See p. 152 of *B. I. S. Mandal Itivṛtta* (1915)—Note on " ७५ पेशव्यांच्या स्तुतिपर काव्य " by P. N. Patvardhan (pp. 146-154). This poem consists of 54 stanzas in Marathi. It was composed by Bhagvantrao Yādava, whose great grandson Mr. Narayanrao Madhavrao, Jahagirdar of Chincholi (District Aurangabad) showed it to Mr. P. N. Patvardhan. Tryambak, the son of Bhagvantrao Yadav, was killed at the battle of Kharda. —The poem refers also to रामफल, सीताफल, अंजीर etc. (p. 152).

In the list of flowers and fruits recorded by Saint Rāmadās in his बागप्रकरण I find no mention of rose-flower. He mentions " गुलखत " among flowers and fruits such as " पोपये ", " अंजीर ", " सीताफळें ", " अननस " all of which are late additions to Indian *materia medica.* (Vide pp. 627-628 of रामदासाचे समग्र ग्रंथ, ed. by G. G. Gondhalekar, Bharatbhūṣaṇa Press, Poona, 1906).

quantity of rose-water was manufactured for court use in the first half of the 18th Century. In fact we find Raja Shahu[1] writing to Kanhoji Angre on *13th April 1723* ordering him to supply *candles* and *gulāb* (rose-water) for his own use. This reference seems to suggest that rose-water of local manufacture was not available at least in quantities sufficient to meet the court needs of Shahu who, having been brought up at the Mogul Court, was fond of rose-water. The rose-water was a fashionable article of luxury at the Mogul Court since Baber's time and its importation by sea and land into India is often noticed in contemporary records of foreign traders in the 16th and 17th Centuries.[2]

It is difficult to find references to the use of *gulāb* and its products in Sanskrit works on Indian *Materia Medica* composed even after the Mogul advent in India. I may, however, note here some uses of the rose-flower and its products as found in a work on medicine represented by two MSS.[3] one dated A. D. 1787 and

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1. Vide letter No. 51 (Peshwa Daftar Selection No. 8) dated *13-4-1723*—Shahu ordered Kanhoji Angre to procure for him (possibly from the British) 750 Candles and *gulāb* or rose-water in 20 bottles supplied to Kanhoji. The w ight of the Candles ordered was "सवा सात मण पाच सेर" as stated in this letter. In letter No. 52 (A.D. 1715 ?) Shahu ordered from Kanhoji 100 bottles of rose-water (१०० गुलाब सिसे), 400 Candles and तंबाखू or tobacco of *Surat* and *Bagdad.*

2. Vide p. 142 of *Supplementary Calendar of Documents in the India Office* (1600–1640) London, 1928—12th January 1639—The ship *Diamond* arrived from Persia with *rose-water* etc.

3. One of these MS. is deposited in the library of the Rajawade Samshodhan Mandir, Dhulia. It is described by Vaidya Bindu Madhawa Pandit in the भिषग्विलास (September 1942) pp. 225–228.

This MS. begins :—

"श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ अथ वेदशास्त्र हकीम फरासीस नाम सुतविरचिते वरहदक इजुलपुराणे नामह ॥ अथ रितुविचार लिष्यते"

It ends :—

"इति श्रीवैद्क समापता संवत मासे लिषतं ॥ शके १७०९ ॥ माहे पौष ॥ श्लोक प्रमान संख्या साडे तीन हजार पत्र संख्या एकशे एकूण हजर ॥ पुस्तक वेदक संपूर्ण ॥"

the other dated A. D. 1824. This work is called हकीम फरासिस and consists of 13 Chapters. In Chap. III which deals with the आसवs *i. e.* decoctions or extracts there is reference to the गुलाब flower. Again in Chap. V which deals with अर्कs the गुलाब flower is referred to. It is also found in Chap. X dealing with चटनी and पाक.

I have taken the above references from the description of the Dhulia MS. of the work as given by Vaidya Bindu Madhav Pandit of the Āyurvedāshram, Ahmednagar. According to Mr. Pandit the language of this work is a mixture of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi, Urdu, Marwadi, Gujarati and other languages and dialects. Perhaps the MS. would be useful for the students of the history of Indian linquistics as the MS. is dated A. D. 1787, which suggests that the work was composed earlier than this date.

Another MS.[1] of the work has been recently acquired by the B. O. R. Institute. It is dated A. D. **1824**. It contains the following references to गुलाब फूल and गुलाब अतर[2] :—

The subjects of the 13 Chapters are :—

I—ऋतुविचार, मूत्रपरीक्षा, नाडीपरीक्षा ; II—विरेचनकल्प ; III—आसव ; IV—गुटिका ; V—अर्क ; VI—Uses of mixtures against diseases ; VII—काढा ; VIII—चूर्ण ; IX—गुटिका (bigger type) ; X—चटनी and पाक ; XI—सिद्धतैल, स्नेह etc. ; XII—मलम ; XIII—रसायन.

1. This MS. is on paper (Size :—8″ × 4″) and contains 32 folios (about 11 lines per page and 44 letters each line). It begins :—

" श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ लिखतं फिरंगी फरासीका हकीमी ॥ अथ वैद्यकशास्त्र ईजुलपुरा(ण) है हकीम फरासीसने कही ॥ भाषा बहुत बीचारी केकरी ॥ प्रथम च्यारौ ऋति वर्णन ॥ चैत्र वैशाख ज्येष्ठ सीत पाताल स्थान ॥ " etc.

It ends :—

" इत्रीरजुल ग्रंथे इजुल तीव हकीम फरासीस विरचीतं फिरंगी हकीम अईजुलकृत् कीताब हकीमी की संपूर्ण ॥ शके १७४६ तारणनाम संवत्सरे मार्गशीर्ष वद्य १० दशमी सौम्यवासरे हकीमी ग्रंथ समाप्तः ॥ ६ ॥ ॥ ॥

2. On *4th September 1754* " आतर गुलाबी " was used to honour a descendant of the celebrated singer Tānsen (Vide p. 99 of *Peshwa Daftar 22*) while on *10th February 1768* Gopikābai Peshwe sent some betel nuts to Daulatābād to get them scented with rose (Ibid, p. 114—" सुपाऱ्या गुलाबी वासाच्या करण्याकरितां."

Fol. 11a " केना ता मै गुलाबका अतर मासे ३ "

Fol. 12a " गुलाब के फुल सेर पाच फुल नहि होइ तो चोखो गुलाब के अतर मासे ८ ॥
" गुलाब फुल सेर ३ वा अतर मासे ६ ॥

Fol. 19b " गुलाब को पानी "

Fol. 21b " गुलाब पाव अध "

Fol. 22a " गुलाब को अतर तोला १ "

Fol. 22b " गुलाब पाव कढाई मोडारी के गुलाबसह को " etc.
(Fol. 25a—" कागदी नीबु ")

A MS. of the present work dated A.D. 1878 has been described on pp. 71 and 302 of the catalogue[1] of Hindi MSS. by S. S. Das who gives no information about the date of the work or its author.

We have noted in the foregoing discussion 4 MSS. in all of the work हकीम फरासीस out of which three are dated A. D. **1787, 1824** and **1878** respectively. The Dhulia MS. of the work is the earliest dated MS. of the work so far discovered and hence important.

Another MS. belonging to the B. O. R. Institute of a work called चूर्णप्रकर्ण (प्रकरण) is dated A. D. **1849** (Saṁvat 1905, Śaka 1771). It refers to the preparation of *gulkand* by the use of sugar-candy, rose-flowers, saffron etc. as follows :—

Fol. 14b " गुलकंद् करणें ॥ . साकर घुवा १ खडीमिश्री १ गुलाब फूल व केशर ॥ ६ ॥ चूर्ण ॥ "

The foregoing references to the use of the *gulab* flower in the Indian *materia medica* though introduced very late show clearly its growing popularity in India.

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1. *First Triennial Report on the Search for Hindi Mss.* by Syam Sundar Das, Allahabad, 1912.

Page 70—" No. 166—फरासीसी हकीम. Nothing could he known about this author of medical books. The following work of his has been discovered " :—" अंजुलिपुराण—A treatise on Hindu system of medicine. The MS. is dated 1878 A. D."

Page 302—" 166 (a)— अंजुलीपुराण by फरासीसी हकीम 130 leaves "— belonging to Kashi Prasad Saraf, Bijawar. Another copy is with G. S. Kavi of Dattia.

I shall close this short paper on the Sanskrit verses regarding the manufacture of rose-water by the following usages of the term गुलाब in the sense of *rose-water* and *rose-flower* found in the work of the celebrated Hindi poet *Bihari* (A. D. 1603–1663)[1] :—

Bihārī[2] in his सतसई refers to the use of *rose-water* in the following stanza :—

(विरहवर्णन)—

" औंधाई सीसी सु लखि बिरह बरी बिललात ।
बीच हि सूखि गुलाब गौ छींटौ छु न गात ॥

Explanation :—

" विरहसंतापमवलोक्य शीतलीकरणार्थं सख्या यावदेव पाटलासलिलस्य (गुलाब जल) काचकूपिका आवर्जिता तावदेव सर्वमेव जलं परिशुष्य लुप्तमभूत् बिन्दुरपि तद्गात्रे नास्पृशत् ॥ अहो संतापः ॥ "

In the same poem Bihārī refers to the uses of *rose-flower* as follows :—

(शरीरसौकुमार्य)—

(१) " झझकत हियै गुलाब के झमा झमावत पाइ ।

Explanation :—

" पाटलाकुसुमसहाय्येन शनैः शनैश्चरणौ ।
प्रक्षालयन्त्या अपि तस्याः हृदयं तत्कष्टशङ्कया बिभेति ॥

(२) " पखुरी लगैं गुलाब की परि हैं अङ्ग खरौंट । "

Explanation :—

" पाटलाकुसुमपत्रिकायाः स्पर्शोपि तव गात्रे विलेखनजं क्षतं भविष्यति '

It would be interesting to record some usages[3] of the word गुलाब in other vernacular works of the 16th and 17th Centuries in the manner of the Hindi poem of Bihari.

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1. Vide p. 538 of मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश by S. Chitrav, Poona, 1937.

2. Vide p. 51 of गाथासप्तशती (*Kāvya Mālā 21*) edited by Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1933—The Sanskrit explanations of Bihārī's stanzas are given by Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha himself.

3. Vide p. 1138 of Proceedings of *Indian History Congress* Calcutta, 1939. Mr. N. L. Ahmad describes the *rose-water festival* (*Eid-i-gulabi*) at the Court of Shah Jahan (A. D. 1628–1658) as follows :—

" *Eid-i-gulabi* (rose-water festival) one of the daintiest of Court-festivals, was celebrated with taste and elegance on the 13th of the Persian

I close this paper with a request to the students of the history of Indian medicinal science and other scholars to publish any Sanskrit or vernacular texts pertaining to the manufacture of rose-water preferably prior to A. D. 1800.

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month Tir, which marked the commencement of the Rainy Season in India. The princes and the prominent nobles presented the Emperor with jewelled flasks containg *rose-water*, jujube tree flower juice and the aroma of orange flowers. The other courtiers made him offerings of enamelled, gold and silver flasks."

Evidently the *rose-water* used for the above festival was possibly that imported from Persia and other places outside India.

SANSKRIT THEORIES OF POETRY.*

K. Krishna Moorty

The abiding value of poetry is attested by the persistence with which generation after generation of critics—Indian as well as Western—have studied, discussed and defended it. By poetry the average man means writings in verse. But in Sanskrit Alaṅkāra works the word Kāvya is used in a wider sense to denote all varieties of literature which claim primarily to be works of art and not contributions to knowledge or science (Śāstra). Every piece of writing which seeks first of all to afford pleasure to its readers—whether it is written in prose like Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* or in verse in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* or in the form of drama as Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita*—would be called *Kāvya*. "The antithesis of poetry is not prose, but science" said Coleridge and the truth of this statement has been realised by more than one writer of *Alaṇkāraśāstra*. The question therefore, to which they attempt an answer is the differentiation of the poetical from the prosaic.

A close study of the earlier writers on Sanskrit poetics like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana will reveal that literature was not considered, cultivated and studied in ancient India as an end in itself. It was more often than not considered just a means to serve higher ends such as *Dharma* (Righteousness) or *Artha* (Wealth), *Kīrti* (Fame) or *Prīti* (Favour). It is Mammaṭa belonging to the 12th century A. D. that gives due credit to the aspect of pleasure that literature affords. He has expressly mentioned in his *Vṛtti* (Gloss) on the second *Kārikā* of his *Kāvyaprakāśa* that aesthetic delight overtops all the other uses of poetry.[1] Dhanañjaya, the author of the *Daśarūpaka* has even gone to the extent of making fun of ancient writers on the subject[2] who did not

* I owe a deep debt of gratitude to my revered Professor C. R. Narasimha Sastri for many valuable suggestions and corrections.

1. Cf. '*Sakalaprayojanamaulibhūtaṁ samanantarameva samudbhūtaṁ vigalitavedyāntaraṁ Ānandaṁ.* —*Kāvyaprakāśa*, p. 8, Jhalkikar's Edn.

2. See *Ānandaniṣyandiṣu rūpakeṣu vyutpattimātraṁ phalamalpabuddhiḥ* |
Yopītihāsādivadāha sādhustasmai namaḥ svāduparaṅmukhāya ||
—*Daśarūpaka*, p. 2, N. S. Edn.

recognise the importance of aesthetic pleasure (*Rasa*). But even these writers appear to have thought that the primary purpose of poetry is the edification of kings. As Kuntaka puts it, 'the avowed object of poetry is the guidance of rulers and princes along channels conducive to the welfare of the state. For, otherwise,—if left to themselves—they may misuse their power'.[1] And in this atmosphere, it is no wonder that we miss in Alaṅkāra works subjective criticism of literary works. But great poets are not of one age, but of all time. Sanskrit theorists concerned themselves with the study of literature and arrived at their own solution of essential or intrinsic characteristics. The qualities of matter as well as of manner were recognised and codified.

But what is Poetry? Answers to this question are legion and most of the definitions of Poetry which are the commonplaces of Western literary criticism such as "Poetry is a criticism of life," "Poetry is woven in the iridescent tissue of immortal dreams," "Poetry is distilled from the blood of a man's heart", and others leave the reader none the wiser for having known them. No doubt they may satisfy the metaphysician and the high-brow but they leave the plain man still with his difficulty. On the other hand, the definitions evolved by Sanskrit theorists have always kept the plain man in view and they are singularly devoid of this defect.

If we analyse the raw material of poetry into its constituent elements we find that it consists of nothing more than words which have some meaning. This analysis served as the basis for many definitions of Poetry at the hands of Sanskrit theorists. Many of them are descriptions of poetry rather than definitions. Some give prominence to words (form), others to something higher over and above these such as Rasa. In the history of Alaṅkāra literature almost every author of note has made his own contribution to the problem of the essence of poetry, at the same time trying to pour ridicule on the definitions of others and to

1. *Rājaputrāḥ khalu samāsāditasvavibhavāḥ samastajagatīvyavasthākāritām pratipadyamānāḥ ślāghyopadēśaśūnyatayā svatantrāḥ santaḥ samucitasakalavyavahārocchedaṁ pravartayituṁ prabhavantītyetadarthametadvyutpattaye vyatītasaccaritarājacaritaṁ tannidarśanāya nibadhnanti kavayaḥ.*

—*Vakroktijīvita*, p. 4, Calcutta Edn.

See also for the same idea Viśvanātha's *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, p. 19, N. S. Edn.

justify his own position. In this short paper only a very brief sketch of the chief divergent views and their worth in the light of Western criticism is attempted. For the sake of convenience, the chronological order of the works will be followed.

Bharata's *Nāṭyaśastra* is the earliest work preserved which treats, though incidentally, of the problem of poetry. He is famous in the history of Sanskrit poetics as the exponent of the theory of Rasa. His oft-quoted *Sūtra* relating to *Rasa* is— " *Tatra vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicāri-samyogādrasaniśpattiḥ* ". It should be noted in this connection that the Rasa theory of Bharata has in view such various subjects as music, histrionics, and dramaturgy. It was left to later commentators like Abhinavagupta to evolve a full-fledged doctrine of Rasa particularly applicable to poetry as such. It is interesting to observe that at the beginning of the 21st chapter of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Bharata says " *Itivṛttam tu kāvyasya śarīram parikīrtitam* ". 'The plot may be described as the *Body* of poetry,' and there can be no doubt that Bharata meant Rasa to be its *Ātman* or 'Soul' though he has not mentioned it in so many words. Thus the controversies raging on the body and soul of poetry in Sanskrit Alaṅkāra works seem to have taken their start with Bharata. And when we find Coleridge saying 'The essence of poetry consists in the excitement of emotion for the immediate purpose of pleasure through the medium of beauty', we cannot but think that this was anticipated by sage Bharata hundreds of years ago.

We step into poetics proper in the *Kāvyālaṅkāra* of *Bhāmaha*. His statement '*Śabdārthau Sahitau Kāvyam*' (Word and meaning together constitute poetry) sounds more like a layman's opinion of poetry. It appears so only at first sight. Closer examination reveals to us that the definition of Bhāmaha is not so childish as it looks. Bhāmaha never means that any and every word expressive of some meaning or other makes poetry. It is only the right word expressive of the right meaning that is suitable in the context; and the beauty of such compositions is achieved with the help of (a set of) figures of speech and qualities of style. Avoidance of patent defects which are also catalogued goes a long way in raising a piece of writing to the level of literature. As W. Basil Worsfold says, "The three distinct and

characteristic elements of excellence, the presence of which can be discerned in varying degrees in works of literature are—matter, manner and the capacity to please",[1] and Bhāmaha has surely taken into account all these in framing his definition of poetry. The implication and significance of the word *Sahitau* in Bhāmaha's definition quoted above may very well be summarised in the words of Prof. A. C. Bradley thus :—"If substance and form mean anything in the poem, then each is involved in the other, and the question in which of them the value lies has no sense."[2] Poetry essentially consists of form and substance and just as there is no substance apart from form, so there is no form apart from substances. It follows, therefore, that in poetry, form and substance must have a mutual and innate relation.

Now the question arises whether Bhāmaha was thoroughly ignorant of the theory of *Rasa* so ably propounded by Bharata. A perusal of the *Kāvyālaṅkāra* will reveal that he was aware of it but he did not assign the highest place to it. As Ruyyaka says in his *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, Bhāmaha and his followers gave that paramount position to figures of speech.[3] *Rasa* was included under one of them, Viz. *Rasavat*. But Bhāmaha does not at all go against the views of Bharata when he speaks of figures of speech, for Bharata had also recognised and classified them. It is not certain whether they part company even as regards *Rasa*, since Bharata nowhere treats of *Rasa* only in respect of *Kāvya* to the exclusion of all other arts. Figures of speech surely charm the reader and beautify the design but if they are overdone they elicit at best mere admiration and as a matter of fact, they create most often disgust. Even as in the English Literature of the 17th century, in the history of classical Sanskrit Literature also, the employment of the various figures of speech both of sound (*Śabdālaṅkāra*) and of sense (*Arthālaṅkāra*) became the avowed object of the poets—more often of poetasters—after the period of Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa. 'Such pleasure as they give is purely intellectual and is intellectually frivolous'.

1. *Judgment in Literature*, p. 18.
2. *Oxford Lectures On Poetry*, p. 16.
3. Cf. *Tad evàmalaṅkārā eva kāvye pradhānaṁ iti prācyānāṁ mataṁ.* —*Alaṅkārasarvasva*, p. 7, Trivandrum Edn.

But this was the pleasure sought and found by the intelligentsia (*Sahṛdaya*) of the period of decline and fall of Sanskrit Literature. Simile and metaphor and a host of other things quite inessential to poetry were their great engrossing pre-occupation and were prized the more in proportion as they were far-fetched. The poets' ideal was to startle by novelty and amuse by ingenuity. This school of Bhāmaha which has come to be called the Alaṅkāra school by modern writers on Sanskrit Poetics had, in later times, many followers such as Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa. These later writers—Daṇḍin included among them (?)—either add new figures to the list of existing ones or classify them according to some other principle. In essence they do not differ from Bhāmaha in holding that Alaṅkāras are all in all in poetry.

The next important writer after Bhāmaha is Daṇḍin. His definition of Kāvya is—'*Śarīram tāvadiṣṭārthavyavacchinnā padāvalī.*' (With respect to the body it consists of a series of words, qualified by the sense which the poet wishes to express. One might be tempted at first sight to correlate it with Jagannatha's definition of poetry in his *Rasagaṅgādhara*, viz. '*Ramaṇīyārthapratipādakaḥ Śabdaḥ Kāvyam*' and say that he gives more emphasis to the word or the form than to its substance which is given the subordinate place of a *Viśeṣaṇa* (adjective) in the latter definition. This is what Sovani and Kane have actually done. But *Iṣṭārtha* does not mean *Ramaṇīyārtha*. It means *Vivakṣitārtha* as Taruṇa Vācaspati has pointed out and should be translated as 'sought to be expressed'. Daṇḍin gives a very wide significance to the term *Alaṅkāra* which indicates some progress from Bhāmaha. He says—'*Kāvyaśobhākarān dharmānalaṅkārān pracakṣate*'. (All attributes adding beauty to poetry go by the name of *Alaṅkāra*). Thus the *Guṇa*, and *Rīti* or *Mārga* are also included under it. So to differentiate him from the *Alaṅkāra* school of Bhāmaha who assigns the first place to figures of speech, he has often been accredited as the propagator of the *Rīti* school though the word *Rīti* itself never occurs in his *Kāvyādarśa*. He accepts the *Vaidarbhī* and *Gauḍīyā* styles whose essence consist of *Guṇas* which were later on well defined by Vāmana. Thus though Daṇḍin is in the main a follower of Bhāmaha, he differs from him in more than one detail.

As we have already seen, although the word *Śarīra* has been used both by Bharata and Daṇḍin in their definitions of poetry and though this implies that they must have had something else in mind as the soul residing in that body, they have not expressly mentioned it anywhere in their works and the credit of having first tackled the problem of *Ātman* or soul of *Kāvya* undoubtedly goes to Vāmana. When he declares in one of the Sutras of the *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* that style or diction is the soul of poetry (*Rītirātmā Kāvyasya*), it is nothing but Daṇḍin's position pushed to its logical conclusion. In minor matters of detail as, for example, the *Rītis* being *Guṇas*, he generally follows his predecessors. Vāmana's doctrine of *Rīti* seems to correspond to that of the English school of literary criticism which held that 'Style is the man'. The concrete features of a good style of writing enumerated by Schopenhauer in his essay on "Authorship and Style" can be brought under one or the other of Vāmana's *Guṇas* and as such under one of the *Rītis*. According to Schopenhauer, thoughts must get their clearest, finest and most powerful expression. Clarity, beauty and power are the three qualities emphasised by him. By clarity he means the expression of thoughts "as purely, clearly, definitely and concisely as ever possible". This is secured by the use of words which are precise and apt.[1] The truth underlying the sharp distinction between *Vaidarbhī* and *Gauḍīyā Rītis* which is recognised by Daṇḍin and Vāmana seems to be borne out by a passage found in Winchester.[2]—"There are, in general, two opposite tendencies in personal expression : on the one hand to clearness and precision ; on the other to largeness and profusion. The difference between the two may be seen by comparing such poetry as that of Matthew Arnold with that of Tennyson or such prose as that of Newman with that of Jeremy Taylor. Minds of one class insist on sharply divided ideas, on clearness of image, on temperance and precision of epithet. Their style we characterise as chaste or classic. The other class have......more abundant and vivid imagery, more wealth of colour, but less sharpness of

1. Quoted by V. Raghavan in his article on *Rīti*, *Kuppu Swami Sastri Commemoration Volume*, p. 107.

2. *Some principles of Literary criticism*, Chapter 4th.

definition. Their thoughts seem to move through a lush growth of imagery. They tend to be ornate and profuse in manner, eager in temper." But after all is said and done, Vāmana's view of style as the life of poetry empties, to borrow the words of Prof. A. C. Bradley, 'Poetry of its meaning. It is really a doctrine of form for form's sake. It is of no consequence what a poet says, so long as he says the things well. The 'what' is poetically indifferent; it is the 'how' that counts. Matter is nothing; the form, the treatment is everything'.[1] In poetic experience we never apprehend expression without reference to meaning. It is a unified experience where both are cognised and appreciated simultaneously. One cannot be abstracted from the other. But in theory it is interesting to note that it has found support in the greatest poet-critic of Germany, Göethe, when he regards poetry as primarily an art and insists upon form, and power of artistic expression in all poetry worth the name.

Next comes *Ānandavardhana* whose *Dhvanyāloka* is an epoch-making work in the history of Sanskrit Poetics. His unique contribution to the *Alaṅkāraśāstra* is the doctrine of *Dhvani* or suggestion though he himself claims for it previous currency among Indian critics.[2] *Dhvanikāvya* is defined as follows—"That kind of Poetry in which the expressed word and sense become subordinate to suggested sense is called *Dhvani* by scholars."[3] Suggestive poetry is poetry *par excellence*. But poetry devoid of suggestion is also given a place under the class of *Kāvya*. It is *Citrakāvya*. If *Dhvani* were the soul of poetry, then, nothing bereft of it could be poetry. Then again suggestion or *Dhvani* is not uniform. It is triple in character. The suggestion may be of (1) *Vastu* (matter) or (2) *Alaṅkāra* (embellishment) or (3) *Rasa*. The highest place is given only to *Rasa-Dhvani* and not to the other two. But poetry where the plot or figures of speech are suggested is not excluded from the domain of poetry but are given a subordinate position. This also involves a difficulty as *Viśvanātha* has pointed out.[4] Riddles and conun-

1. *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, p. 7.
2. Cf. *Kāvyasyātmā dhvaniriti budhairyaḥ samāmnātapūrvaḥ...Dhvanyāloka*, 1. 1).
3. *Yatrārthaḥ śabdo vā tamupasarjanīkṛta-svārthau |*
Vyaṅktaḥ kāvyaviśeṣaḥ sa dhvaniriti sūribhiḥ kathitaḥ || —*Ibid*, 1. 13.
4. Cf. *Śāhityadarpaṇa*, P. 4, P. V. Kane's Edn.

drums, where also there is some suggested sense other than the expressed one, will have to be brought under the class of *Vastudhvani*. Further, when *Ānandavardhana* says—

"*Yo'rthassahṛdayaślāghyaḥ kāvyātmeti vyavasthitaḥ* ।
Vācyapratīyamānākhyau tasya bhedhāvubhau smṛtau ॥
—*Op Cit*, P. 12., N. S. Edn.

there seems to be contradiction of what he himself said earlier. Here the author declares that '*Artha*' is the soul of poetry and that *Vācya* (expressed) and *Pratīyamāna* (suggested) are two varieties of *Artha*. It logically follows that *Vācyārtha* is as much the soul of poetry as the *Pratīyamāna* or *Vyaṅgyārtha*. Mahimabhaṭṭa in his *Vyaktiviveka* has not forgotten to point out this inconsistency among many others in the Dhvanyāloka.

Despite all these contradictions (whieh are remedied by later writers like *Viśvanātha*), the fact remains that the docrine of *Dhvani* marked a great advance in the history of Sanskrit poetics, The centre of gravity shifted gradually from *Śabdārtha*, *Alaṇkāra*. *Guṇa* and *Rīti* to *Dhvani* and indeed the doctrine is sound in its essentials. It is not merely the presence of some excellence. and figures that accounts for a piece being called great literatures Words may be said to lie dead in a dictionary, skeletons without flesh and blood. "But as soon as they escape into a living sentence, they gain individuality and catch subtle shades of meaning which no dictionary can define, a meaning not purely intellectual, and capable of infinite variation according to the genius of him that uses them. We say that such language suggests more than it expresses.[1] One great merit of Ānandavardhana is that he fixed once and for all the relative positions of *Rasa*, *Guṇa*, *Doṣa* and *Alaṅkāra* which were tacitly adopted by later writers. If we consider figuratively poetry to be a person, word and meaning would consitute his body and *Rasa* his life ; excellences of style would be like the qualities of valour and wisdom. Defects in style would be similar to the ailments like lameness and blindness. *Rītis* would be comparable to the harmonious disposition of the limbs and poetic figures to the ornaments to be worn on the body.

1. *De Selinconrt* '*Oxford Lectures on Poetry*', p. 10.

We may note in this connection that Dr. J. Nobel appears to have made a mistake in thinking that "*Sahṛdayahṛdayāhlādi Śabdārthamayatvameva kāvyalakṣaṇam*," is the definition of the Dhvanikāra.[1] The above quoted statement which occurs in the *Vṛtti* on the first *Kārikā* forms part of the doctrines of the objector. The paragraph starts with the words *Anye brūyuḥ*. It is the view held by critics who did not admit of *Dhvani* and not by the Dhvanikāra.

Another noteworthy definition of *Kāvya* is that of Mammaṭa, a great authority on Sanskrit *Alaṇkāraśāstra*. It is—"*Tadadoṣau śabdārthau saguṇāvanalaṅkṛtī punaḥ kvāpi.*" It has been almost verbatim accepted by Hemacandra. Poetry consists, according to these writers, of word and sense, both combined, which are free from faults, are full of excellences and sometimes even without figures of speech. This definition, it will be seen, does not in essence, differ from that of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. A noteworthy feature of Mammaṭa is the subordinate place he assigns to *Alaṇkāras* or figures of speech. In this he has been influenced by the *Dhvani*-school. But it is a compliment to his conservatism that he did not brush aside the theories of the ancients though he was convinced of the truth of the later *Dhvani* doctrine.

Viśvanātha, though generally a follower of Mammaṭa has mercilessly criticised each and every word of the latter's definition. These criticisms, it must be noted, are well-pointed and, for the most part, justified. The logical conclusion of the theory of *Dhvani* meant giving the highest place to *Rasa* in all poetry. Mammaṭa and to some extent even Ānandavardhana felt shy of saying it in so many words and evaded the issue. The credit of having boldly come forward with his definition "*Vākyam rasātmakaṁ kāvyam*" goes to Viśvanātha. What his predecessors had been tacitly taking for granted without acknowledging it was given expression to in his definition which is theoretically perfeet. But from the practical point of view, descriptions like those of a flowing river or a blooming flower, where the charm consists in the expressed sense or the figures of speech present, do not come under the purview of poetry according to this

1. *Foundations of Indian Poetry*, p. 81.

definition. The definition serves little or no purpose from the student's point of view because unless he knows the doctrine of *Rasa* in all its details, he cannot understand the full import of the definition. It is but poor consolation to be told that in all poetry where there is no *Rasa*, there is at least *Rasābhāsa*, a semblance of *Rasa*, which indeed helps us in calling it poetry though not poetry of the highest kind. For all practical purposes, Mammaṭa's definition is very serviceable. Thus though Viśvanātha's definition is not immune from defects it goes a long way in assigning the proper place to *Rasa* which was faintly envisaged by Bharata and more vividly elucidated by Ānandavardhana. As against the *Rīti* school, it opens their eyes to the fact that 'there is a conception of poetry which is not fulfilled by pure language and liquid versification, with the simple and, so to speak, colourless pleasure which they afford ; but involves the presence in them of something which moves and touches in a special and recognisable way'.[1] The most serious objection to the definition of Viśvanātha is that a ban shall have to be placed on a bulk of poetical literature which has distinctly a charm in it but has not necessarily in it any predominant sentiment. Such things have been generally accepted as coming under the head of poetry by a majority of literary critics of all ages and climes.

Jagannātha, the author of the *Rasagaṅgādhara* is the last great writer on Sanskrit Poetics. According to him a *Kāvya* is a word which conveys a charming sense (*Ramaṇīyārtha-pratipādakaḥ śabdaḥ*). Thus the essence of *Kāvya*, according to this definition consists in charmingness or *Ramaṇīyatā*. This charmingness belongs to an idea whose knowledge produces an extraordinary delight. And the extraordinariness or *Lokottaratva* is something which can be known only by experience and which may be styled as *Camatkāratva* or strikingness. This *Camatkāratva* is the essence of poetry which it is impossible to define or describe in so many words, but which can be only felt by a person who is a *Sahṛdaya*, who has the faculty which springs from culture and ripe judgment.[2]

1. A. E. Housman—' The Name and Nature of Poetry ', p. 11.

2. *Ramaṇīyatā ca lokottarāhlādajanakajñānagocaratā. Lokottaratvam cāhlādagataścamatkāratvāparaparyāyo'nubhavasākṣiko jātiviśeṣah. Karaṇam ca tadavacchinne bhāvanāviśeṣaḥ punahpunaranusandhānātmā.*

—The *Rasagaṅgādhara*, p. 4, N. S. Edn.

Against this definition, however, it may be said that it does not help a student to recognise or distinguish what composition deserves to be called *Kāvya*. To say simply that what is charming or striking is a *Kāvya* does not take us any further. Besides Jagannātha is of opinion that the word and meaning (*Śabda* and *Artha*) do not **together** constitute poetry. According to him the words alone are referred to by the name *Kāvya* as is corroborated by everyday-experience. People speak of poetry being read loudly, of its meaning being understood and sometimes of its meaning being not understood though poetry was heard, all the while having in their minds the idea of words.[1] It has already been pointed out when considering Bhāmaha's definition that questions of this kind pertaining to the relative importance of word or meaning in poetry are futile.

Before concluding, two other theories of poetry advanced by Kuntaka and Kṣemendra respectively may be noticed. These have been reserved to the last instead of being treated earlier in so far as they represent not so much new theories of *Kāvya* but attempts at bringing all the specific conceptions of *Rīti*, *Rasa*, *Guṇa*, *Alaṅkāra* and *Dhvani* under a more general principle. Kuntaka took the cue from Bhāmaha and highly elaborated the doctrine of *Vakrokti* in his work *Vakroktijīvita*. According to him *Vakrokti* is the essence of poetry and by *Vakrokti* he understands the peculiarity capable of producing extraordinary charm (*Lokottaracamatkārakārivaicitrya*). Kuntaka distinguishes six varieties of *Vakratā* under the one or the other of which he brings in all figures of speech, *Rasa*, *Dhvani*, *Guṇa* and *Rīti*.

Kṣemendra in his *Aucityavicāracarcā* maintains that *Aucitya* or appropriateness is the essence of *Rasa* which in its turn constitutes the most important thing in *Kāvya*. He defines *Aucitya* as the character of that which is suitable or appropriate in its relation to another.[2] In the doctrine of *Aucitya*, Kṣemendra

1. Cf. "*Śabdārthayugalaṁ na kāvyaśabdavācyam. Mānābhāvāt; kāvyamuccaiḥ paṭhyate, kāvyādartho'vagamyate, kāyam śrutamartho na jñātaḥ, ityādi viśvajanīnavyavahārataḥ; pratyuta viśēṣaśabdasyaiva kāvyapadārthatvapratipatteśca*". *Op. Cit.*, p. 5.

2. *Ucitam prāhurācāryāḥ sadṛśam kila yasya yat* |
Ucitasya ca yo bhāvaḥ tadaucityam pracakṣate ||
—Ibid. —*Kāikā*, 7, N. S. Edn.

appears simply to develope what had already been hinted at in the *Dhvanyāloka* where we find—

Anaucityādṛte nānyad rasabhaṅgasya kāraṇam ।
Prasiddhaucityabandhastu rasasyopaniṣat parā ॥

"There is no other thing which mars *Rasa* than impropriety. The supreme secret of *Rasa* consists in observing the established rules of propriety." Many varieties of *Aucitya* are enumerated and illustrated in Kṣemendra's work. *Rasa*, *Guṇa*, *Rīti*, *Alaṅkāras*, etc., can be useful only when there is *Aucitya* in them. It is worthy of notice that Kṣemendra has the sense of humour to quote his own verses often to illustrate *Anaucitya*.

To conclude : in Sanskrit Poetics the definition of poetry forms a veritable battle-ground. With the utmost subtlety and hair-splitting distinctions, every rhetorician has come forward to justify his own definition of Poetry and to reject the definitions of others. Even this rapid survey of the different schools of Sanskrit Poetics has revealed to us that there has been a steady growth in the conception of the nature of poetry. From the beginnings in Bhāmaha, where only the exterior of poetry is taken into consideration, we come to attempts at solving the inner core of it in Vāmana and see their successful solution in Ānandavardhana. Later writers like Viśvanātha and Mammaṭa made explicit the suggestions embodied in the *Dhvanyāloka*. Sanskrit theories of poetry do not in any way suffer by comparison with the recognised theories of Western criticism.

VĀK BEFORE BHARTṚHARI[1]

K. Madhava Krishna Sarma

Vāk is one of the goddesses of importance to whom hymns are addressed in the Ṛgveda. She is compared to the milch-cow:

ते मन्वत प्रथमं नाम धेनोः । IV. 1. 16.

उवाच मे वरुणो मेधिराय त्रिः सप्तनामघ्न्या बिभर्ति । VII. 87. 4.

Streaming with sweetness she waits on the Rudras:

मध्व ऊषु मधूयुवा रुद्रा सिषक्ति पिप्युषी । V. 73. 8.

She is the queen of the Devas:

राष्ट्री देवानाम् । VIII. 89. 10.

The Devas created her and she is spoken by animals of all forms. She, the milch-cow, when duly praised, brings to her devotee food, vigour and happiness:

देवीं वाचमजनयन्त देवास्तां विश्वरूपाः पशवो वदन्ति ।

सा नो मन्द्रेषमूर्जं दुहाना धेनुर्वागस्मानुपसुष्टुतैतु ॥ VIII. 89. 11.

Like men cleansing corn-flour by a sieve, the wise have created her by meditation:

सक्तुमिव तितउना पुनन्तो यत्र धीरा मनसा वाचमक्रत । X. 71. 2.

The wise having traced the path of Vāk through sacrifice, found her dwelling within the Ṛṣis:

यज्ञेन वाचः पदवीयमायन्तामन्वविन्दन्नृषिषु प्रविष्टाम् । X. 71. 3.

She is the wife of Brahman:

ब्रह्मजायाम् । X. 109. 7.

One though he sees, does not see her; one though he hears, does not hear her; to one she discloses herself like a well-dressed wife to her husband:

उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाचमुतत्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।

उतो त्वस्मै तन्वं १ विसस्रे जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः ॥ X. 71. 4.

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1. Paper read at the XVI Indion Philosophical Bongress.

Sūkta X. 125 which is entirely devoted to Vāk ends :

अहमेव वातं इव प्रवाम्यारभमाणा भुवनानि विश्वा ।
परो दिवा पर एना पृथिव्यै तावती महिना संबभूव ॥

Like the wind I strongly blow, the while I create all the worlds ; I am beyond this heaven and earth ; so much wide have I become by my greatness.

In this henotheistic characterization[1] of Vāk as embracing all existence is contained the germ of the Śabdavivartavāda. A similar characterization of Vāk is found in the Brāhmaṇa literature also. In the Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa we have the following :

अनन्तामन्तादधिनिर्मितां महीम् ।
वाचं देवा उपजीवन्ति विश्वे वाचं गन्धर्वाः पशवो मनुष्याः ।
वाचीमा विश्वा भुवनान्यर्पिता ।
वागक्षरं प्रथमजा ऋतस्य वेदानां मातामृतस्य नाभिः । 2. 8. 8. 4–5.

Vāk is endless ; Vāk is more than the end of all creation ; she is great ; all the gods, Gandharvas, men and animals live upon Vāk ; all existence is supported by Vāk ; Vāk is Akṣara (the immutable) ; the first-born of Ṛta, the mother of the Vedas, the navel of immortality.

The Aitareyāraṇyaka identifies sounds with the elements of nature :

पृथिव्या रूपं स्पर्शा अन्तरिक्षस्योष्माणो दिवः स्वराः ।
अग्ने रूपं स्पर्शा वायोरूष्माण आदित्यस्य स्वराः । (3. 2. 5.)

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1. The following 57 names of Vāk given in the Nighaṇṭu (1. 11.) give us an idea of the various Vedic conceptions of it :

(1) श्लोकः, (2) धारा, (3) इळा, (4) गौः, (5) गौरी, (6) गान्धर्वी, (7) गभीरा, (8) गम्भीरा, (9) मन्द्रा, (10) मन्द्राजनी, (11) वशी, (12) वाणी, (13) वाणीची, (14) वाणः, (15) पविः, (16) भारती, (17) धमनिः, (18) नाळीः, (19) मेना, (20) मेळिः, (21) सूर्या, (22) सरस्वती, (23) निवित्, (24) स्वाहा, (25) वग्नुः, (26) उपब्दिः, (27) मायुः, (28) काकुत्, (29) जिह्वा, (30) घोषः, (31) स्वरः, (32) शब्दः, (33) स्वनः, (34) ऋक्, (35) होत्रा, (36) गीः, (37) गाथा, (38) गणः, (39) धेना, (40) ग्नाः, (41) विपा, (42) नना, (43) कशा, (44) धिषणा, (45) नौः, (46) अक्षरम्, (47) मही, (48) अदितिः, (49) शची, (50) वाक्, (51) अनुष्टुप्, (52) धेनुः, (53) वल्गुः, (54) गल्दा, (55) सरः, (56) सुपर्णी, (57) बेकुरा ॥

The Sparśas are of the form of the earth, the Ūṣmans of the form of the sky, the Svaras of the form of the heaven. The Sparśas are of the form of the fire, the Ūṣmans of the form of the air, the Svaras of the form of the Sun.

A great advance in the conception of Vāk is seen in the Upaniṣads where the syllable 'Om' is identiffed with Brahman. Says the Taittirīyopaniṣad :

ओमिति ब्रह्म । ओमितीदं सर्वम् । (1. 8.)

'Om' is Brahman ; 'Om' is this all.

Compare also Kāṭhaka 2·15.

The Chāndogya identifies 'Om' with the Udgītha and says :

यदेतदक्षरमेतदमृतमभयं तत्प्रविश्य देवा अमृता अभया अभवन् । स य एतदेवं विद्वानक्षरं प्रणौत्येतदेवाक्षरं स्वरममृतमभयं प्रविशति तत्प्रविश्य यदमृता देवास्तदमृतो भवति । (1. 4.)

This Akṣara 'Om' is that immortal, the fearless ; by entering it the Devas became immortal and fearless ; he who utters it knowing it thus, enters the immortal and fearless Svara (vowel); since the Devas became immortal by entering it, he too becomes immortal.

तद्यथा शङ्कुना सर्वाणि पर्णानि संतृण्णान्येवमोङ्कारेण सर्वा वाक् संतृण्णोङ्कार एवेदं सर्वमोङ्कार एवेदं सर्वम् । (2. 23. 4.)

Just as all these leaves are permeated by stems, so is all Vāk permeated by Oṁkara ; verily Oṁkara is this all ; Oṁkara is this all.

The Bṛhadāraṇyaka says :

तदेदं तर्ह्यव्याकृतमासीत्तन्नामरूपाभ्यामेव व्याक्रियतेऽसौ नामायमिदंरूप इति । (1. 4. 7.)

Verily, this world was then (in the beginning) undifferentiated ; it is now differentiated by name and form, as it is said 'He is of this name, of this form'.

तद्वा एतदक्षरं गार्ग्यदृष्टं द्रष्टृश्रुतं श्रोत्रमतं मन्त्रविज्ञातं विज्ञातृ नान्यदतोऽस्ति द्रष्टृ नान्यदतोऽस्ति श्रोतृ नान्यदतोऽस्ति विज्ञात्रेतस्मिन्नु खल्वाकाशो गार्ग्याकाश ओतश्च प्रोतश्चेति ॥ (3. 8. 11.)

Verily, O Gārgi this Akṣara is the unseen seer, the unheard hearer, the unthought thinker, the unknown knower ; other than

this there is none that sees; other than this there is none that hears; other than this there is none that thinks; across this Akṣara O Gārgi, is the Ākāśa verily woven warp and woof.

Though Śabdavivartavāda is thus found in a well developed form in the early Upaniṣads themselves, which identity the Praṇava with Brahman, the Universal Soul, we see that these as well as the earlier Vedic literature are not acquainted with the analysis of Vāk into Paśyantī, Madhyamā and Vaikharī or Parā, Paśyantī, Madhyamā and Vaikharī or Bindu and Nāda. Such later Upaniṣads as the Nādabindu, the Dhyānabindu, the Haṁsa, etc., however, speak of the Tantric Bindu and Nāda. The Atharvaśikhā, the Nṛsiṁhhottaratāpinī, etc., speak of the quadruplicity of the Praṇava :

स एष ह्योङ्कारश्चतुरक्षरश्चतुष्पादश्चतुःशिरश्चतुर्थमात्रः......।

(Atharvaśikhā)

तस्य ह वै प्रणवस्य या पूर्वा मात्रा सा प्रथमः पादो भवति द्वितीय-द्वितीयस्य तृतीया तृतीयस्य चतुर्थ्योतानुज्ञात्रनुज्ञाविकल्परूपा तथा तुरीयं चतुरात्मा नमन्विष्य......। (Nṛsiṁhottaratāpinī 3.)

The Nṛsiṁhottaratāpinī, the Brahmavidyā and some other Upaniṣads of this class speak also of the various places of the Praṇava :

अकारं ब्रह्माणं नाभौ ससात्मानं चतुरात्मानमुकारं विष्णुं हृदये ससात्मानं चतुरात्मानमकारं रुद्रं भ्रूमध्ये.........। (Nṛsiṁhottaratāpinī 3.)

Navel is the abode of the universe, declares the Brahmavidyā :

नाभिस्थाने स्थितं विश्वं शुद्धतत्त्वं सुनिर्मलम् । (15)

We are here reminded of Paśyantī which is accorded this place by Śabdabrahmavādins.

These notions of the quadruplicity of the Praṇava and its distribution in several places might have been one of the bases for the later analysis of Vāk into various aspects and assignment of places of manifestation to them. It also deserves mention here that one of the later Upaniṣads, viz. the Brahmabindu contains the term 'Śabdabrahman'. This, however, distinguishes Śabdabrahman from Parabrahman and assigns only a secondary place to the former :

द्वे विद्ये वेदितव्ये शब्दब्रह्म परं च यत् ।
शब्दब्रह्मणि निष्णातः परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥ (1/)

One must know the two Vidyās, the Śabdabrahman and the Parabrahman ; he who is an expert in the knowledge of Śabdabrahman attains Parabrahman.

The view contained in this Upaniṣad is adopted by the Tantra philosophy which also assigns a similar place to Śabdabrahman.

Two Ṛks namely R. V. I. 164. 45 and IV. 58. 3 quoted by Patañjali in the Paspśā are explained by some of his commentators (See Udyota) as containing a reference to the four-fold division of Vāk into Parā, etc. This is only reading a much later meaning into an ancient text. Patañjali himself explains 'catvāri' in both these to mean only the divisions Nāman, Ākhyāta, Upasarga and Nipāta. The Śatapathabrāhmaṇa explains 'catvāri' as follows :

तदेतत्तुरीयं वाचो निरुक्तं यन्मनुष्या वदन्त्यथैतत्तुरीयं वाचोऽनिरुक्तं यत्पशवो वदन्त्यथैतत्तुरीयं वाचोऽनिरुक्तं यद्वयांसि वदन्त्यथैतत्तुरीयं वाचोऽनिरुक्तं यदिदं क्षुद्रं सरीसृपं वदति । (4. 1. 3. 17)

One-fouth of that Vāk is analysed (articulate) and is spoken by human beings ; of the rest which is unanalysed (inarticulate), one-fourth is spoken by animals, one-fourth by birds and one-fourth by serpents.

As Sāyaṇa notes, the interpretation of the latter varies according to the persuasion of the interpreter. Says the Vedic commentator :

यद्यपि सूक्तस्याग्निसूर्यादिपञ्चदेवतात्मकत्वात्पञ्चधायं मन्त्रो व्याख्येयस्तथापि निरुक्ताद्युक्तनीत्या यज्ञात्मकाग्नेः सूर्यस्य च प्रकाशकत्वेन तत्परतया व्याख्यायते ।

शाब्दिकास्तु शब्दब्रह्मपरतया चत्वारि शृङ्गेति चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताश्चेत्यादिना व्याचक्षते, अपरे त्वपरतया तत्सर्वमत्र द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

Yāska interprets this as applying to Yajña :

अथैषा यज्ञस्य चत्वारि शृङ्गेति वेदा वा एत उक्ताः । त्रयोऽस्य पादा इति सवनानि त्रीणि............। (13. 7)

On the former he comments :

चत्वारि वाचः परिमितानि पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मेधाविनः । गुहायां त्रीणि निहितानि नार्थं वेदयन्ते । गुहा गूहतेः । तुरीयं त्वरतेः । कतमानि

तानि चत्वारि पदानि। ओङ्कारो महाव्याहृतयश्चेत्यार्षम्। नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्चेति वैयाकरणाः। मन्त्रः कल्पो ब्राह्मणं चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकीति नैरुक्ताः। सर्पाणां वाग्वयसां क्षुद्रस्य सरीसृपस्य चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकीत्येके[1]। पशुषु तूणवेषु मृगेष्वात्मनि चेत्यात्मप्रवादाः। अथापि ब्राह्मणं भवति। सा वै वाक्सृष्टा......।
(13. 9)

Sāyaṇa says that Sūkta IV. 58 applies either to Agni, Sūrya, Ap, Go, or Ghṛta :

अग्निसूर्याप्गोघृतानामन्यतमा देवता।

The Nighaṇṭu (1. 17) gives 'śṛṅga' as one of the names for flame, and probably the latter Ṛk is one originally addressed to Agni. As Agni is the main feature of Yajña, Yāsk interprets it as applying to the latter.

The other Ṛks of this Sūkta speak of Go and Ghṛta also. We have already noted that Vāk is sometimes identified with Go in the Ṛgveda. This identification might have led the grammarians to think that the Ṛk under reference has some bearing on Śabda. 'Catvāri' which may be conveniently interpreted to mean the fourfold division of Vāk into Nāman etc., might also have been one of the factors which led them to read here a reference to Vāk.

The following in the Mahābhārata recognizes two phases of Vāk. In Āśvamedhikaparvan we have the following :

घोषिणी जातनिर्घोषा नित्यमेव प्रवर्तते।
तयोरपि च घोषिण्या निर्घोषैव गरीयसी॥
गौरिव प्रसवत्यर्थान्रसमुत्तमशालिनी।
सततं स्यन्दते ह्येषा शाश्वतं ब्रह्मवादिनी॥
दिव्यादिव्यप्रभावेन भारती गौः शुचिस्मिते।
एतयोरन्तरं पश्य सूक्ष्मयोः स्यन्दमानयोः॥
(Chapter 21, Verses 21–23)

Vāk is always there either as endued with sound, i.e. manifest or unendued with it, i.e. unmanifest. Of these two forms, the latter, the one that unmanifest is superior to the former, i. e. the unmanifest. Like a cow having excellent milk, she speaking

1. Note how Yāska refers to the view contained in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa as that of 'Eke' and to another Brāhmaṇa by that name.

always of Brahman, yields eternal bliss. O thou of beautiful smile! Vāk is a cow with powers both divine and not divine. Behold the distinction of these two subtle forms which are always active. Another text from the same quoted by Bhartṛhari in his Vṛtti (Ben. ed. p. 57) on the Brahmakāṇḍa recognizes the three states of Vaikharī, Madhyamā and Paśyantī.

It is well known that the Bhagavadgītā, following the Upaniṣads, equates the Praṇava with Brahman :

ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म व्याहरन्मामनुस्मरन् ।
यः प्रयाति त्यजन्देहं स याति परमां गतिम् ॥ (8. 13)

[1]Elsewhere I have dwelt on the history of the doctrine of Sphoṭa from Sphoṭāyana to Kātyāyana. I, therefore, come to Patañjali from the Mahābhārata here.

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1. Vide Professor K. V. Rangswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume. In mentioning there pre-Patañjalian votaries of the doctrine of the eternality of Śabda, I have omitted the name of Vārtākṣa who is mentioned along with Audumbarāyaṇa in Vākyapadīya 2. 347:

वाक्यस्य बुद्धौ नित्यत्वमर्थयोगं च लौकिकम् ।
दृष्ट्वा चतुष्ट्वं नास्तीति वार्ताक्षौदुम्बरायणौ ॥

Audumbarāyaṇa's view as given there by me, that he is a Varṇanityatvavādin, also requires some modification in the light of my study of Bhartṛhari. According to the Vākyapadīya quoted above, Vārtākṣa and Audumbarāyaṇa regard Vākya as the unit of speech and as permanent in Buddhi (Buddhisat, i. e. as an idea): it is indivisible into Padas etc. In the Nirukta passage इन्द्रियनित्यं वचनमौदुम्बरायणः Indriya should, therefore, mean Buddhi. The commentary on the above verse of the Vākyapadīya is as follows :

वाक्यस्याखण्डस्य बुद्धौ प्रतिपत्तृबुद्धौ नित्यत्वं दृष्ट्वा तथा तस्यैवार्थेन प्रतिभालक्षणेन योगं संबन्धं दृष्ट्वा पदे तत्पदपरिकल्पनं पदार्थपरिकल्पनं च तत्र नास्त्येव नैवोपपद्यत इत्याचार्यावाहतुः । अतोऽस्माकमेषा बिभीषिका यत्पदानां चतुष्ट्वं नोपपद्यत इति ॥

The view of the philosophers is here clearly given as that both Vācaka and Vācya are only ideas and that in that form they are eternal. This thesis has been expounded at great length by Nāgeśa in the Laghusiddhāntamañjūṣā where the identity of both Vācaka and Vācya is well brought out.

Durga interprets the Nirukta passage thus: As Vāk perishes no sooner than it is uttered, it cannot be divided into Nāman, Ākhyāta, etc.; for divisions and Guṇapradhānabhāva can be had of only those things which are permanent. His commentary runs :

Of the extant grammatical works it is in the Mahābhāṣya that we first see a distinction made between Sphoṭa and Dhvani. There is no systematic exposition of the doctrine of Nityaśabda here, as this is a commentary on a work or works dealing with the physical aspect of Śabda; but a careful perusal of such later works on grammatical philosophy as the Vākyapadīya, the Bhūṣaṇasāra, the Laghumañjūṣā, etc., would show that almost all that is given as the view of Vaiyākaraṇas in those works is existent in its rudimentary form in this great commentary itself. The doctrine of the eternality of Śabda is undoubtedly pre-Patañjalian; but unfortunately details of the treatment of this by pre-Patañjalian philosophers are not available. It is also unknown who first used the term Sphoṭa in the philosophical sense. If the name Sphoṭāyana really has no etymological significance and the

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यावदेव वक्तुर्वागिन्द्रिये श्रोतुश्च श्रोत्रेन्द्रिये वचनं तावदेव तदस्तीति शक्यते वक्तुं प्रच्युतं च नास्ति । अपि च वाक्यमपि समस्तमुद्भूतं तदिन्द्रिये नावतिष्ठते यदवयवभूतानि पदान्यवस्थितानि परिसंख्यातुम् । न च विनष्टाविनष्टयोः पदयोः सह परिसंख्यानमस्ति । तस्माद्वचनानित्यत्वात्पदचतुष्ट्वानुपपत्तिरित्युपपन्नम् ॥

This commentator has in his turn based this interpretation on that of the older commentators Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara (See Dr. Sarup's ed. p. 13.)

Dr. Sarup also translates the passage thus: "According to Audumbarāyaṇa speech is permanent in the organs only" (Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta, p. 6). It would be admitted on all hands that Bhartṛhari's knowledge of the tradition of the philosophy of Śabda is superior to that of these commentators of Nirukta. Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara preface their commentary with the words तस्यार्थं केचिदेवं व्याचक्षते which clearly shows that they are not sure of the meaning. So also Durga who interprets the passage युगपदुत्पन्नानाम् etc. both according to Nityaśabdavādins and Anityaśabdavādins. Alternative explanations are always indicative of the uncertainty of the original meaning. We have, therefore, to accept Audumbarāyaṇa's view as stated by Bhartṛhari who also makes the meaning of the Nirukta व्याप्तिमत्त्वात्तु etc. quite clear in the next verse (2, 348) as follows:

व्याप्तिमांश्च लघुश्चैव व्यवहारः पदाश्रयः ।
लोके शास्त्रे च कार्यार्थं विभागेनैव कल्पितः ॥

पदाश्रयो वाक्यव्यवहारः शास्त्रेणोपदिष्टः सन् व्याप्तिमान् सकलसाधुशब्दपरिज्ञानहेतुर्विभागेन परिकल्पित इति किमत्रानुपपन्नम् ।

later commentators like Haradatta and Nāgeśa who regard a sage of this name to be the first exponent of the Sphoṭa doctrine are only following a groundless and unreliable tradition, the earliest use of the term Sphoṭa for Śabda as conceived by Vaiyākaraṇas is in the Mahābhāṣya. And of the grammatical trio the credit of making Sphoṭa a Vaiyākaraṇa doctrine and thus giving a philosophical and spiritual turn to Vyākaraṇa must go to Patañjali.

Patañjali holds the view that Śabda is towfold, Nitya and Anitya. The former is the Sphoṭa and the latter the Dhvani. Though the Mahābhāṣyakāra does not expressly say that Nityaśabda is Sphoṭa and the Nityaśabdavāda,[1] i. e. the Sphoṭavāda as contained in the Mahābhāṣya is not so complex as pronounded by later grammarians, the following facts are sufficient for an inference that by Sphoṭa he means Nityaśabda. Of the two definitions of Śabda given by him at the very outset of his work, this one according to the commentators applies to the Nitya ;

येनोच्चारितेन सास्नालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाणिनां संप्रत्ययो भवति स शब्दः ॥

Kaiyaṭa comments :

वैयाकरणा वर्णव्यतिरिक्तस्य पदस्य वाक्यस्य वा वाचकत्वमिच्छन्ति वर्णानां प्रत्येकं वाचकत्वे द्वितीयादिवर्णोच्चारणानर्थक्यप्रसङ्गात् । आनर्थक्ये तु प्रत्येकमुत्पत्तिपक्षे यौगपद्येनोत्पत्त्यभावात् । अभिव्यक्तिपक्षे तु क्रमेणैवाभिव्यक्त्या समुदायाभावादेकस्मृत्युपारूढानां वाचकत्वे सरो रस इत्यादावर्थप्रतिपत्त्यविशेषप्रसङ्गात्तद्व्यतिरिक्तस्फोटो नादाभिव्यङ्ग्यो वाचको विस्तरेण वाक्यपदीये व्यवस्थापितः ॥

Nāgeśa :

इदमेकं पदमेकं वाक्यमिति प्रत्ययः स्फोटसत्त्वे तदैक्ये च प्रमाणम् । अनुभवक्रमेणैव स्मरणमित्यर्थे दृढप्रमाणाभावाच्च क्रमेणानुभूतानां व्युत्क्रमेणापि स्मरणदर्शनात् । मम तु यथा परं नानारञ्जकद्रव्याहितनानावर्णोपरागः क्रमेण तथा एकस्मिन्नेव तस्मिन्नुच्चारणक्रमेण क्रमवानेव तत्तद्वर्णस्वरूपानुरागः । स च स्थिरस्तस्य च मनसा ग्रहणमिति न दोषः । तत्र येनेत्येकवचनेन विषाणिनामिति बहुवचनेन वानेकोच्चारणविषयगौरित्यस्यैकत्वं सूचितम् । एवं च तेनैव दृष्टान्तेन घटपटादिबोधकसाधारण्येन वाचकस्यैकत्वं सूचितम् । भेदप्रत्ययस्यौपाधिक इत्याद्यस्मत्कृतमञ्जूषायां शक्तिवादे द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

1. Unfortunately he disposes this off as having been treated at great length in the Saṁgraha ; the real extent of his aquaitance with this doctrine is, therefore, not known. See Kielhorn's ed., Vol. 1, p. 6.

While giving the other definition Patañjali observes that empirically Śabda means Dhvani also: लोके ध्वनिः शब्द इत्युच्यते। From this we learn that according to him, Śabda as a scientific term stands only for Sphoṭa. We will presently see that elsewhere he distinguishes Dhvani from Sphoṭa. As Śabda to him is only twofold, what is distinguished from the mutable Dhvani must be the immutable Śabda, the Sphoṭa. There are some other places where Patañjali speaks of the NityaŚabda. Commenting on the Ṛk चत्वारि शृङ्गा Patañjali says that Bhūta, Bhaviṣyat and Vartamāna are the three legs of the bull of Śabda, that it has two forms, viz. the eternal and the non-eternal, and that the realization of the identity of this which is the Universal Soul and of the individual soul is the object of the study of Vyākaraṇa. Here again Patañjali observes: महान्देवः शब्दः मर्त्या मरणधर्माणो मनुष्यास्तानाविवेश, i. e. Śabda has entered all mortal beings: he is the Ātman of all beings. Says Hari explaining this in the Vākyapadīya:

अपि प्रयोक्तुरात्मानं शब्दमन्तरवस्थितम्।
प्राहुर्महान्तमृषभं येन सायुज्यमिष्यते॥

इह द्वौ शब्दात्मानौ कार्यो नित्यश्च। तत्राद्यो व्यावहारिकः पुरुषस्य वागात्मनः प्रतिबिम्बोपग्राही। अन्यस्तु सर्वव्यवहारयोनिः संहृतक्रमः सर्वेषामन्तः-संनिवेशी प्रभवो विकाराणामाश्रयः। (I. 132)

The following Ślokavārtikas occur at the end of the second Āhnika of the Mahābhāṣya:

अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यादश्नोतेर्वा सरोऽक्षरम्।
वर्णं वाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे किमर्थमुपदिश्यते।
वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते।
तदर्थमिष्टबुद्ध्यर्थं लघ्वर्थं चोपदिश्यते॥

The first half of the first of these clearly gives a twofold derivation of the term as applying to NityaŚabda. It can be derived either from 'kṣar' 'to perish' or 'aś' 'to pervade'. In the former case it means 'that which does not perish' and in the latter 'that which is all-pervasive'. The second half of this verse refers to some work or works of antiquity where the term is used for Varṇa. The other verse identifies the Akṣarasamāmnāya with the Vedas which speak of Brahman. Patañjali comments:

सोऽयमक्षरसमाम्नायो वाक्समाम्नायः पुष्पितः फलितश्चन्द्रतारकवत्प्रतिमण्डितो वेदितव्यो ब्रह्मराशिः। सर्ववेदपुण्यफलावाप्तिश्चास्य ज्ञाने भवति। मातापितरौ चास्य स्वर्गे लोके महीयेते ॥

The derivation of Akṣara from the root kṣar occurs in the Nirukta (13. 12). From this also it may be known that the doctrine of the eternality of Śabda is pre-Yāskan.

Patañjali mentions Sphoṭa in two places once under the Sūtra ए ओङ् ऐ औच् (Akṣarasamāmnāya 3–4) and again under the Sūtra तपरस्तत्कालस्य (1. 1. 70). The reference under the former is too brief to clarify to us his concept of Sphoṭa. It is as below :

कृपो रो ल इति। अथवोभयतः स्फोटमात्रं निर्दिश्यते। रश्रुतेर्लश्रुतिर्भवतीति।

That is the Sphoṭa manifested by both 'r' and 'l' is one and the same ; Ratva and Latva which make it appear as 'r' and 'l' are only variations of Śruti. When we say that 'r' is substituted by 'l' what we mean is that the Śruti 'r' is to be substituted by the Śruti 'l'. In fact as Patañjali says elsewhere, the Nivartyanivartakabhāva here is one of Bhuddhi and not of Śabda. Compare :

अस्तिरस्मायविशेषेणोपदिष्टस्तस्य सर्वत्रास्तिबुद्धिः प्रसक्ता। सोऽस्तेर्भूरित्यनेनास्तिबुद्ध्या भवतिबुद्धिं प्रतिपद्यते। स ततः पश्यति बुद्ध्या अस्तिं चापकृष्यमाणं भवतिं चोपादीयमानम्। नित्य एव च स्वस्मिन्विषये अस्तिर्नित्यो भवतिश्च। बुद्धिस्त्वस्य विपरिणम्यते ॥ (P. 1. 1. 56, Kielhorn's ed. Vol. p. 137)

At the latter place, however, we have a clearer Mahābhāṣya distinguishing Dhvani from Sphoṭa. It is as follows :

एवं तर्हि स्फोटः शब्दो ध्वनिः शब्दगुणः। कथम्। भेर्याघातवत्। तद्यथा भेर्याघातः भेरीमाहत्य कश्चिद्विंशतिपदानि गच्छति। कश्चित्त्रिंशत्कश्चिच्चत्वारिंशत्। स्फोटश्च तावानेव भवति। ध्वनिकृता वृद्धिः।

ध्वनिः स्फोटश्च शब्दानां ध्वनिस्तु खलु लक्ष्यते।
अल्पो महांश्च केषाञ्चिदुभयं तत्स्वभावतः ॥

Śabda is Sphoṭa. Dhvani is its Guṇa, i. e. that which serves to manifest it. Here is a simile. During the sound of a drumbeat one may walk 20 feet, another 30 and yet another 40. In other words, the same sound may be heard at different distances or different lengths of time. The variations here are not in the sound itself but only in the Upalabdhi, i. e. comprehension of it.

Similarly Sphoṭa is one and immutable. Variations in speed (the Vṛttis Drutā, Madhyamā and Vilambitā) and in quantity (Alpatva, Mahattva etc.) pertain to Dhvani and not to Śabda. On this Mahābhāṣya Kaiyaṭa comments :

भेर्याघात इति। भेरी। माहन्तीति भेर्याघातः। उपलब्धिसामान्ये दृष्टान्तः। यथा प्रयत्नवशादुत्पन्नो भेरीशब्दः कश्चिदल्पकालमुपलभ्यते कश्चिच्चिरं चिरतरं च एवं वृत्तिषूपलब्धीनां कालभेदो विषयस्य त्वभेद एव। स्फोटस्तावानिति दार्ष्टान्तिकोपन्यासः। ध्वनिः स्फोटश्चेति। व्यञ्जको व्यङ्ग्यश्चेत्यर्थः। शब्दानां व्यङ्ग्यानां संबन्धी व्यञ्जकत्वेन यो ध्वनिः स एव महानल्पश्च लक्ष्यते व्यङ्ग्यस्त्वभिन्नकाल एवेत्यर्थः॥

Nāgeśa :

ननु दृष्टान्ते ध्वनेरुपलभ्यमानस्य भेदो न तथेह वर्णस्य द्रुतादिष्विति वैषम्यमत आह उपलब्धिसामान्ये इति। यथा तत्र तस्य ध्वनेस्तावत्तावत्कालमुपलम्भस्तथेहापि तत्तद्वृत्तौ तावत्तावत्कालं तत्तद्भिव्यञ्जकरूपरूषितत्वेन परिच्छिन्नस्यैव स्फोटस्योपलम्भमात्रमित्येव दृष्टान्तः।..............

वस्तुतस्तु भेर्याघातस्थलेऽपि स्फोट एव भेरीताडनाभिव्यक्तः श्रोत्रग्राह्यः शब्दानां चिराचिरोपलब्धिकराल्पत्वमहत्वाभावाद्वैकृतध्वनिरेवाल्पत्वादिना लक्ष्यते॥

The Śābdikacintāmaṇi of Gopālakṛṣṇaśāstrin, an hitherto unpublished commentary on the Mahābhāṣya explains this as follows :

[1]अयमाशयः। यथा घटोऽयं घटोऽयमिति धारावाहिकज्ञानकाले उपलब्धिभेदेऽपि पुनः पुनरुपलभ्यमानो घटो न भिद्यते तथा विलम्बितायां व्यक्तौ अकार एक एव पुनः पुनरुपलभ्यत इति व्यञ्जकध्वनिभेदेऽपि वर्णभेदाभावात् सर्ववृत्तिषु तत्काल एव वर्णः न भिन्नकालः। अत एव योऽनेन द्रुत उच्चारितः स एवान्येन मध्यम उच्चारितः अपरेण तु स एव विलम्बित उच्चारित इति प्रत्यभिज्ञानमुपपद्यते। ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतास्तु स्वत एव परस्परभिन्नाभिन्नैर्ध्वानिभिर्व्यज्यन्त इति तेषां भिन्नकालत्वमेव। अतः स्वतन्त्रः स एवायमुच्चरित इति व्यक्तिप्रत्यभिज्ञाभावः। अत्र दृष्टान्तप्रश्नः कथमिति। भेर्याघातवदिति दृष्टान्तोपन्यासः। भेरीमाहन्तीति भेर्याघातः। कर्मण्यण्। उपलब्धिसाम्यमादायायं दृष्टान्तः। स्फोटश्च तावानेति तु दार्ष्टान्तिकोपन्यासः। न तु दृष्टान्तशेषः। ततश्च भेर्याघातः पुरुषो यथोपलभ्यते तथा स्फोटोऽपीत्यक्षरार्थः। भेरीमाहत्य कश्चिदित्यनन्तरं तदीयं शब्दमुपलभ्यमानः

1. I give the extract from a transcript deposited in the Adyar Library, No. 8. K. 3, Vol. 4, pp. 1998–2000.

सन्निविशेषः । अयमत्राभिप्रेतार्थः । यथा प्रयत्नविशेषादुत्पन्नो भेरीशब्दः कश्चिदल्पं कालमुपलभ्यते कश्चिच्चिरमेवं वृत्तिषु वर्णविषयकोपलब्धीनामेव भेदः विषयस्य तु वर्णस्याभेद एवेति । अयमेवार्थः स्फोटश्च तावानेव दर्शितः । वृत्तिभेदस्तु ध्वनिप्रयुक्त इति न वर्णाभेदस्य प्रयोजक इत्यर्थः ॥

The meaning of the Ślokavārtika is this: Śabda has two aspects, Dhvani and Sphoṭa; it is the former which is characterized by variations in speed and quantity. Naturally of some of the Śabdas, i. e. of articulate sounds only both Dhvani and Sphoṭa are comprehended. Of the rest, i. e. of inarticulate only Dhvani is comprehended. This Ślokavārtika which comes after the above statement of his view by Patañjali is probably a quotation from earlier work in confirmation of the latter; and it must be noted that in this case, the term Sphoṭa in the grammatical sense is older than the Mahābhāṣya.

From the foregoing it is clear that Patañjali accepts Śabda as twofold, Nitya and Kārya, that the former he calls Sphoṭa and that he is not acquainted with the divisions of Vāk into Paśyantī etc. or Parā etc. or Bindu and Nāda. The bearing of this conclusion on the chronology of the later Upaniṣads and the earliest known Tantra works cannot be ignored. True, in his commentary on the Ṛk चत्वारि शृङ्गा Patañjali mentions the three places of Śabda, namely, Uras, Kaṇṭha and Śiras; but these which he gives according to Śikṣās or ancient treatises on phonetics are not the places which the latter philosophers assign to the divisions Paśyantī etc. These places which are assigned to sound in the Śikṣas assume great importance later in the Saṅgītaśāstra.

In his Translation of the Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta, 1921, p. 205, Dr. L. Sarup says:

"The conclusion (arrived at) in that work Saṅgraha is this, that although the word is eternal, it is also non-eternal; the definition being applicable in both ways. Patañjali, however, does not seem to agree with the conclusion arrived at in the Saṅgraha. He remarks: 'The twofold character of words is not proved' (Pāṇini 1. 1.6, Kielhorn's Ed., Vol. 1, p. 104).

This is incorrect. The Mahābhāṣya under reference is as follows.

Vārtika: साध्वनुशासनेऽस्मिन्यस्य विभाषा तस्य साधुत्वम्. Sādhvanuśāsanatva, i. e. laying down rules on the correctness of words is the primary feature of Vyākaraṇa: Sādhutva is the main subject dealt with in this Śāstra. Hence when Pāṇini gives an option regarding a grammatical operation, it would (according to the maxim प्रधानाप्रधानयोः प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययः) be applied to Sādhutva and the rule would mean that the Sādhutva of the word with regard to which the grammatical operation is enjoined, is optional. For instance, when Pāṇini says विभाषा श्वेः (6. 1. 30) (i. e. Saṁprasāraṇa is optional in the case of श्वि) it would mean that श्वि with Saṁprasāraṇa is optionally correct. In other words, it can be both correct and incorrect with this phenomenon. Compare Patañjali:

साध्वनुशासनेऽस्मिन् शास्त्रे यस्य विभाषा क्रियते स "विभाषा साधुः स्यात्। समासश्चैव हि विभाषा क्रियते तेन समासस्यैव विभाषा साधुत्वं स्यात्। अस्तु यः साधुः स प्रयोक्ष्यते। असाधुर्न प्रयोक्ष्यते। न चैव हि कदाचिद् व्याकरणे राजपुरुष इत्येतस्यामवस्थायामसाधुत्वमिष्यते॥

Kaiyaṭa comments:

साधुत्वप्रतिपादनार्थत्वाच्छास्त्रस्य साधुत्वस्यैव प्राधान्याद्विकल्पेन संबन्धः स्यात्। न तु तदङ्गभूतानां समाससंज्ञादीनामिति भावः। ततश्च विभाषा श्वेरित्यस्यायमर्थः स्यात्। विभाषा श्वयतेः साधु संप्रसारणं भवति पक्षे त्वसाध्विति॥

Nāgeśa:

यदिह परिनिष्ठितं तत्साध्विति अर्थापत्तिकल्पितवाक्यस्यैव मुख्यत्वात्तेन मुख्यतया साधुत्वस्यैव विधानादित्याशयः॥

Further, if Śabdas are accepted as eternal, they cannot be understood in a twofold way in cases of option; for, as explained above, the option would apply to Sādhutva and it would mean that one and the same word is both Sādhu and Asādhu. This difficulty is not, however, confronted with if Śabdhas are non-eternal, as a Śaba created as Sādhu is in this case different from the one created as Asādhu. But there is a difficulty which arises in this latter case and which is mentioned in the next Vārtika कार्ये युगपदन्वाचययौगपद्यम्।

The word 'pratipatti' means here 'understanding' or 'knowledge' and not, as Dr. Sarup says, proof.[1] In this sense it is again

1. Perhaps the translator is confusing 'pratipatti' with 'pratipādana' which latter means 'proving'.

used in the same context in the Vārtika द्वैधाप्रतिपत्तिः. The twofold character referred to here is not of Śabda as Nitya and Kārya but of option as both positive and negative (the Vidhimukhapravṛtti and the Niṣedhamukhapravṛtti). Dvedhā is an adverb; and as noted already, the correct translation of द्वैधाप्रतिपत्तिः is 'There is no understanding of Śabdas in a twofold way i. e. positively and negatively. The application of Vibhāṣā is the main topic dealt with in this Mahābhāṣya. In fact the Vārtika referred to by Dr. Sarup is an Ākṣepavārtika and not the Siddhānta. In the sequel both Kātyāyana and and Patañjali discard the Sūtra : अशिष्यो वा विदितत्वात् । And there is nothing here on which Dr. Sarup can base his view that Patañjali does not accept the twofold nature of Śabda. The very fact that elsewhere he summarily disposes off this topic (nature of Śabda) as having been dealt with prominently in the Saṅgraha without adding any note of dissent shows that he agrees with the former which, as Bhartṛhari says, is the very basis of his work. Compare the Vākyapadīya : (2. 484–85).

प्रायेण संक्षेपरुचीनल्पविद्यापरिग्रहान् ।
संप्राप्य वैयाकरणान्संग्रहेऽस्तमुपागते ॥
कृतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।
सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने ॥

It must, however, be noted that as stated by him at the very outset of his work, Patañjali accepts Kāryaśabda only as an empirical and not the Absolute Reality which latter to him is Nityaśabda or Sphoṭa alone. Compare Vākyapadīya (2. 240) :

उपायाः शिक्षमाणानां बालानामपलापनाः ।
असत्ये वर्त्मनि स्थित्वा ततः सत्यं समीहते ॥

The above are the most important and direct references to the nature of Śabda in the Mahābhāṣya. As these are sufficient to bear out clearly Patañjali's view of the subject, I am not giving here many incidental and indirect references.

Even these bare outlines which I have given here of one phase of the development of the Śabdavivartavāda would show that it has as much a consistent and extensive history as any other philosophic view. This may perhaps be news to our historians of Indian philosophy who do not mention in their

works even a word about the system of thought propounded by Bhartṛhari from whom Maṇḍana, Gouḍapāda and Śaṅkara (the last of whom is often said to be the greatest of Indian philosophers) have all drawn their inspiration, Bhartṛhari who is one of the most important and authentic sources of information on the development of Indian philosophy between the Upaniṣads and himself, who is a greatest upholder of Vedic authority and a most able champion of intuition,[1] to whom Paramaśaivas of the eminence of Abhinavagupta are never tired of referring for authority. Indeed our historians are not to be blamed, nor are those who without attempting to understand his philosophy regarded him as a Bhuddist;[2] for the remarkably aphoristic terseness of the language of the Vākyapadīya make the work difficult to understand. And it looks as if Bhartṛharī, a great intuitionist, speaks with a prophetic vision when he says;

अनुपासितवृद्धानां विद्या नातिप्रसीदति ।

(Vākyapadīya 2. 493)

But let me here recall the words of M. Ramakrishna[3] Kavi: "The evolution of Indian philosophy shall lose an important link if study and appreciation of Vākyapadīya is ignored".

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1. See my article 'Bhartṛhari a great post-Upaniṣadic intuitionist, Aryan Path, Vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 538 ff.

2. See my article 'Bhartṛhari not a Buddhist', Poona Orientalist, Vol. V No. 1, pp 1. ff. Here I have said that by 'bāhya' Vācaspati means 'one' who is not a follower of the Brahmādvaita'. This is confirmed by my further researches. Maṇḍana uses it in this sense. See Brahmasiddih with Śaṅkhapāṇi's commentary, M. M. Kuppuswami Sastri's ed., pp. 73 and 184.

3. Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. IV, pp. 239–40.

KAUMUDĪ

(The commentary on Abhinavagupta's Locana on Dhvanyāloka—Its Author and Date)

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Considering the great importance of Ānanadavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*, the number of commentaries on it is rather too small. On Abhinavagupta's commentary on it called Locana, there is a commentary called the *Kaumudī*. Only the portion for the first of the four Books is available for this commentary.[1] Of this a small portion is available in print, edited by Mahamahopādhyāya S. Kupuswami Sastri from Madras.[2] In this portion that is available, the author of this commentary quotes a few verses from his own poems. Only in one case does he mention the name of his work from which the passage is taken. In the other cases he simply says: यथा ममैव. The passage where he gives the name of his work is in commenting the Locana portion :

यथा च दीपकापह्नुत्यादौ व्यङ्ग्यत्वेनोपमायाः प्रतीतावपि प्राधान्येन विवक्षितत्वान्न तथा व्यपदेशः ।

and runs as :

यथा ममैव मयूरदूते काव्ये—

सा जागर्ति स्वपिति च मुधा मूकतामेत्यबद्धं
ब्रूते रोदित्यधिकमतुलं धैर्यमालम्बते च ।
मूर्छां प्राप्नोत्यपि च भजते चेतनामित्यशक्तो
वक्तुं वेधा अपि विरहजव्याप्तीरङ्गनानाम् ॥

In the Government Manuscripts Library, Madras, there is a copy of a poem called the *Mayūrasadeśa*.[3] It is a transcript from a manuscript which belonged to the Koodallur House, otherwise known as Nareri House in Malabar. The passage quoted in the *Kamudī* appears in the second canto[4] of the Sandeśakāvya with slight variations in readings and is as follows :

1. Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, R. 2,963.
2. Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras.
3. R. 2,714.
4. Verse 65.

आस्ते शेते भ्रमति भजते मूकतां बह्वबद्धं
ब्रूते रोदित्युदितकरुणं धैर्यमालम्बते च ।
मूर्छां प्राप्नोत्यपि च लभते चेतनामित्यशक्तो
वक्तुं वेधा अपि विरहजान्यङ्गनाचेष्टितानि ॥

In spite of the difference in reading there is no doubt about the fact that the verse quoted in the *Kaumudī* is the same as the verse found in the *Mayūrasandeśa*. The colophon in the manuscript of the poem designates it not as a *Dūtakāvya* but *Ram Sandeśakāvya*,[1] though the *Kaumudī* quotes it as from the *Dūtakāvya*. But this is too small a point to be even considered. Thus we are perfectly sure on one point, namely, that the author of the *Kaumudī* and the author of the *Mayūrasandeśa*, of which the copy is available in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, are identical.

In the *Kaumudī* there is no direct mention of the name of the author. But there is a hint that the name of the author is Udaya and that he was a king. The following is the concluding verse in the introductory portion of the *Kaumudī*

आशंसिता रसिकलोकचकोरवृन्दै-
राविर्भवन्त्युदयतोऽमृतगौरुदारा ।
आचन्द्रतारकमियं नवकौमुदीव
प्रीतिं दधातु जगतां विवृतिर्मदीया ॥

Here the word *udayataḥ* has no special propriety unless it hints at the name of the author also. The meaning of the passage is :

> Eagerly looked for by the world of literary critics as by the crowds of nightingales, arising from *Udaya* (the eastern mountain from which the sun and the moon rise or the author named Udaya) with nectar-like rays or with nectar-like (or immortal) words pleasing, may such my commentary, like the new moonlight, give joy to the world so long as the moon and the stars exist.

Here the allusion to the author is too plain to need explanation or apology.

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1. Begins मयूरसन्देशः First Canto. ends इति मयूरसन्देशे पूर्वभागः समाप्तः Poem ends इति मयूरसन्देशः समाप्तः.

At the end of the first Book, there is the following verse, where the allusion to the name of the author and to his being a king is equally plain.

इत्थं मोहतमोनिमीलितदृशां ध्वन्यर्थमार्गं यतां
व्याख्याभासमहोष्मलज्वरजुषां प्रेक्षावतां प्रीतये ।
उत्तुङ्गादुदयात् क्षमाभृत उदेयुष्याममुष्यामयं
कौमुद्यामिह लोचनस्य विवृतावुद्योत आद्यो गतः ॥

The meaning of the passage is :

Thus has come to an end here the first *Udyota* in this *Kaumudī* (moonlight)—a commentary on the *Locana* (or which opens the eye)—which has arisen from the *Udaya Kṣamābhṛt* (eastern mountain or the King Udaya), for the joy of those careful persons whose eyes are blinded by the darkness of delusion (and) who suffer from the fever causing high temperature on account of mistaken commentaries.

Thus from tbe commentary itself all that we know is that the author is one Udaya and that he is a king. Nothing more is known of his date.

But the *Mayūrasandeśa* helps us in definitely fixing the identity of the author of the *Kaumudī* and his date. The poem begins with a *maṅgala* saluting Gaṇeśa. Then the author promises the composition of the poem in the following verse.

श्रीकण्ठोर्वीपतिबहुमतं मारचेमन्तिकाख्यं
मारस्यास्त्रं महितमधिकृत्याधुना साधु बद्धम् ।
हृष्यन्मल्लीमधुरमधुनिष्यन्दि सन्देशकाव्यं
नव्यं विद्वत्कविपरिषदामस्तु कर्णातिथेयम् ॥[1]

This new message poem, well constructed, dealing with the Cupid's renowned weapon named Māracemantikā, honoured by the king Śrīkaṇṭha, shedding joy-giving honey sweet like jasmine —may this honour as a guest the ears of the assembly of scholars and poets.

Here the heroine in the poem is mentioned as Māracemantikā and she is the wife of a king named Śrīkaṇṭha. In most of the *Sandeśakāvyas*, the author himself appears as the hero, though this is not the case in the *Meghasandeśa* of Kālidāsa.

1. Verse 2 in the first Canto.

In this particular work of Kālidāsa, the hero is mentioned as a Yakṣa. But in most of the poems of the *Sandeśa* type, there is mention only of a lover who is taken away from his wife to a very distant place on account of some circumstances and from that place he sends a message to his beloved. Now, we know definitely that the author of the poem is a king, since the author of the *Kaumudī* is definitely a king. The hero is also here indicated to be the king named Śrīkaṇṭha. In another verse it is made quite plain that the hero is Śrīkaṇṭha himself, and the verse is as follows :

कुर्वन्निच्छाविहृतिमुमयासंगतः स्फाटिकाद्रा-
वास्तेचिह्लीचलनकणिकाकूल[विश्वग्यव]स्थः ।
श्रीकण्ठोऽयं स्वयमिति धृतभ्रान्तिरेनं कदाचित्
प्रक्रान्तोति[रुप्रणुति]मुखः[खर]खेचरौघः सिषेवे ॥[1]

The hero and the heroine sporting on the top of their tall, shining mansion are mistaken by some celestials beings to be the real Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva) sporting on the Kailāsa and they approach him to pay homage. Then the hero laughs at their folly and they curse him for his indescretion with the necessity to be separated from his beloved. This is mentioned in the next verse which runs as :

हा हन्तासौ हतविधिविपर्यासितात्मा तदीयं
दृष्ट्वा जाड्यं मुहुरपि मिलद्धस्तताळं जहास ।
सेयं[सोऽयं]दूरीभवदसुसमो मासमासे(स्वे)ति तस्मै
शापं प्रादान्महदवमतिः कस्य नार्तिं प्रसूते ॥[2]

The hero choses to stay at Syānandūra (which is Trivandrum) and from that place he sends a message to his wife who stays at a place called Annakara in Malabar. This is found in the following verse :

आश्चर्याणामतिशयवतां जन्मभूमिस्त्रिलोक्यां
ख्यातः श्वेतच्छदतटगिरा सौम्य ते गम्यदेशः ।
कामस्यात्माभिमतघटनासाहसत्यक्तमूर्तेः
प्रीत्या नित्यं निवसति पुरे यत्र शैलेन्द्रकन्या ।[3]

1. Verse 4 in the first Canto.
2. Verse 5 in the first Canto.
3. Verse 23 in the first Canto.

The birth-place of wonders rich in excellences, well-known in the three worlds by the name Śvetacchadataṭa, this is the place, O gentle one, where you have to go, in which place resides ever the daughter of the king of mountains giving satisfaction to Kāma (Cupid) who sacrificed his body through the recklessness of bringing about what was desired by herself.

Śvetacchada means having white feathers, *i. e.* a swan.

Taṭa means vicinity. In Malayalam the whole word means *anna* (swan) *kara* (vicinity).

The propriety of introducing the incident of the Gandharvas mistaking the pair to be Śrīkaṇṭha and Umā can be correctly understood only if it is known that while the hero is Śrīkaṇṭha, the heroine's real name also is Umā, as is found in the following verse in the second canto of the poem.

लब्धोमाया इयमतिचिरादर्चितायाः प्रसादा-
दित्यामोदी गुरुजन उमेत्येव तामुद्गृणीते ।
मारस्यास्त्रं मुनिजनमनोजित्वरं पौष्पमन्यत्
पञ्चभ्योऽसाविति कविगणो मारचेमन्तिकेति ॥[1]

Because she was born through the grace of Umā who was propitiated for a long time, the parents called her in their extreme joy by the name of Umā. Since she was a flower-arrow of Cupid, capable of winning the hearts of saints (even), and different from the (well known) five, the hosts of poets called her Māracemantikā.

The position is that the hero is Śrīkaṇṭha who is a king and the heroine is his beloved named Umā, known among the poets as Māracemantikā. The author is also a king. From this similarity, it is not straining the evidence too much when one concludes that the hero is the poet himself.

Śrīkaṇṭha is the family Title in a certain royal family in Malabar. In Malayalam language, the name becomes Kaṇṭan, which is the equivalent of Śrīkaṇṭha. He is known as Kaṇṭan Kota. A Kaṇṭan Kota and a Māracemantikā appear as the chief figures in a poem in Malayalam, which is called *Candrotsava.* Kaṇṭan Kota is the king of a place called Cittilappilli

1. Verse 36 in the second Canto.

(a part of the present Cochin State). This Cittilapilli is not far away from Annakara, to which the message is sent in the *Mayūrasandeśa.* The family Title of Kaṇṭan Kota of Cittilappilli is still retained by the Family of Chittanjore in Malabar, (to which family the writer of the present article belongs). Thus it is now found that the commentary on the *Locana* of Abhinavagupta and the *Mayūrasandeśa* were written by King Śrīkaṇṭha or Kaṇṭan Kota, whose personal name must have been Udaya, an ancester of the writer of this Article.

The poem *Mayūrasandeśa* contains evidence sufficient to fix the date. In describing the various places on the route, there is the reference to a country called Balyakṣoṇī, which must be somewhere in the North East of the present Travancore State. Just before this there is the description of a Śiva Temple, which I consider to be the present Trikaroor Temple in South Travancore. At this stage there is a verse in imitation of Kālidāsa's introduction of Ujjayinī in the *Meghasandeśa.* Although the messenger is to go to the north, the hero advises him to deviate a little from the proper route and proceed in an easterly direction so that he can fulfil the purpose of his eyes having been created, by seeing the Balyakṣoṇī and its greatness. The verses are as follows :

गम्या सम्यग्यदपि भवतः सौम्य सौम्या दिगस्मा-
दस्मत्प्राणान् कथमपि धृतां कर्तुमिच्छोस्तथापि ।
नेत्रोत्पत्तेः फलमविकलं प्राप्तुमप्राप्तपूर्वं
गोत्रारातिप्रणयिनि पदं धेहि किंचिद्दिगन्ते ॥
अग्रे लक्ष्या ललितललनाक्रीडसौधाग्रशृङ्ग-
स्वङ्गत्तुङ्गध्वजपटपरामृष्टताराधिपाङ्का ।
नानानारीनरनिबिडिता संपदा निर्धुनाना
धानाधीशीं पुरमपि धरामण्डलीमौलिभूषा ॥
पाथोराशिप्रतिमपरिखामण्डलीदुष्प्रधर्षा
वर्षाम्भोदभ्रमकरमहासालजालाभिरामा ।
बल्यक्षोणीपतिकुलभुवां भूभुजां भूतिवाहि-
न्याख्या साक्षात्सुरपतिपुरीसोदरी राजधानी ॥

The Bhūtivāhinī in this verse has not yet been definitely identified.

गाहस्वैनां गगनसरणेरस्मदीयत्वबुद्ध्या
पश्यन् विश्वाधिकसुभगताशालिनीं तद्विभूतिम् ।
वित्ताधिक्याद्विजितशशभृन्मौलिभिर्विद्वदग्र्यै-
र्व्यासोपान्तां कबलितकुबेराभिमानैर्जनैश्च ॥
माध्वीमाद्यन्क्वणितिलहरीमर्त्सितस्वस्सरिद्भिः
स्वच्छन्दाध्यासितमणितलं कुत्रचित् सत्कवीन्द्रैः ।
क्काप्यन्यत्र श्रुतिसुखकरोदारगीताभिरामं
क्कापि प्रोद्यत्सुभटनिवहप्रस्तुतप्रौढवादम् ॥
मूर्छद्वन्दिव्रजनुतिवचोमांसलाशान्तरालं
क्कापि क्कापि प्रणमदवनीपावलीपूरिताशम् ।
उद्दण्डाज्ञापिशुनवचनोद्रिक्तवेत्रिप्रपञ्चं
मध्ये तस्या मघवत इवास्थानमध्यक्षयेथाः ॥[1]

I have quoted all the six verses, so that the readers can have an idea of the poetry, written by the author of the *Kaumudī*. Here there is a mention of the great scholar Uddaṇḍa, well known in Malabar and the author of the drama *Mallikāmāruta* and of the poem *Kokilasandeśa*, in the following verse :

उद्दण्डाख्यः सुरभिकवितासागरेन्दुः कवीन्द्र-
स्तुण्डीरक्ष्मावलयतिलकस्तत्र चेत्सन्निधत्ते ।
श्राव्यामुष्य त्रिदशतटिनीवेगवैलक्ष्यदोग्ध्री
वाग्धाटी सा विजितदरसंफुल्लमल्लीमधूली ॥[2]

There is no doubt about the identity of the Uddaṇḍa mentioned in this verse with the Uddaṇḍa the author of the *Mallikāmaruta*[3] and of the *Kokilasandeśa.*[4] His being a great poet hailing from the Tuṇḍīra country and the reference to the flow of his language that beats the speed of the celestial river cannot point out to any other Uddaṇḍa.

This Uddaṇḍa is known as a contemporary of a great Malabar scholar named Chennāssu Namboodiri, the author of the *Tantrasamuccaya* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. In this *Tantrasamuccaya* the following verse describing the procession in a temple is known to be the composition of Uddaṇḍa :

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1. Verses 77 to 82 in the first Canto.
2. Verse 83 in the first Canto.
3. Published in Calcutta.
4. Published at the Mangalodayam Press, Trichur, Cochin State.

शङ्खप्रेङ्खच्चटुलपटलोत्तालतालोरुभेरी-
रङ्गच्छृङ्गोड्डुमरुडमरूद्रिक्तवीणाप्रवीणाः ।
ढक्कायुक्ता विरलमुरलीकर्मठाश्चाभियान्तु
स्फायद्दीपास्तमिहमहितोद्दामहेला महेलाः ॥

The *Tantrasamuccaya* was written in Kali 4,529, corresponding to 1427 A. D., as is clear from the following verse:

कल्यब्देष्वतियत्सु नन्दनयनेष्वम्भोधिसंख्येषु यः
संभूतो भृगुवीतहव्यमुनियुङ्मूले सवेदोऽन्वये ।
प्राहुर्यस्य जयन्तमङ्गलपदेद्धं धाम नारायणः
सोऽयं तन्त्रमिदं व्यधाद्बहुविधादुद्धृत्य तन्त्रार्णवात् ॥

Since Uddaṇḍa is mentioned as a living poet at the time when the *Mayūrasandeśa* was written, the date of the poem is certain. Thus the *Kaumudī* on the *Locana* was written in the beginning of the 15th century.

The Malayalam poem called *Candrotsava* corroborates many of the traditions about Uddaṇḍa current in Malabar even now. These evidences further support the date that we have arrived at for the *Kaumudī* which is the date assigned to Uddaṇḍa. The theme of *Candrotsava* is as follows: There was some misunderstanding between the moon and the moonlight and the moon cursed the moonlight that she would be born on the earth among men. But it was also granted that by performing the great festival called Candrotsava (moon-festival), she would be able to return to her real position. She is born as the daughter of a handsome lady in a village called Puttūrkāvu in the Vuṅṅunnu village in the Cittilappilli country. She grows up, becomes a great and important person in the locality, honoured even by the king of the place, Kaṇṭan Kota. In due course she arranges for the great festival. The king Kaṇṭan Kota himself conducts the festival. All the important people in the country come to the festival. Māracemaṇtikā is one of the most important persons there. Equal in importance is Māralekhā the wife of a great poet, named Punam. There were present Punam himself and another great poet nāmed Śaṅkara, praised by Uddaṇḍa in his *Kokilasandeśa* in the following verse.

दृष्ट्वा देवं परिसरजुषं शम्बरे बालकृष्णं
लोपामुद्रासखतिलकितं दिङ्मुखं भूषयिष्यन् ।
कोलानेलावनसुरभिलान् याहि यत्र प्रथन्ते
वेलातीतप्रथितयशसः शङ्कराद्याः कवीन्द्राः ॥[1]

There was, according to tradition, some misunderstanding between the poet Punam, and his wife and the other poet is

1. Verse 60 in the first Canto.

known to have written a letter to her ; this letter has been preserved and is now available in print. About the Malayalam poet called Punam also Uddaṇḍa has written the following verse extolling his great poetic talents :

अधिकेरलमग्रथगिरः कवयः
कवयन्तु वयन्तु न तान् विदुमः ।
पुलकोद्गमकारिवचःप्रसर-
रपुनमेव पुनः पुनरास्तुमहे ॥

Uddaṇḍa is known to have had little respect for poets in the local language, as is indicated in :

भाषाकविनिवहोऽयं
दोषाकरवद्विभाति गगनतले ।
प्रायेण वृत्तहीनाः
सूर्यालोके निरस्तगोप्रसराः ॥

Uddaṇḍa praised the Malayalam poet Punam when the latter composed a verse in Malayalam in praise of the king of Calicut, the Zamorin Raja, named Mānaveda. The meaning of the Malayalam verse is that the king may live as a caste mark on the forehead of the earth, alas, until she bathes in the flood of the deluge. The tradition says that Uddaṇḍa offered his lace for that "alas".

In the *Candrotsava* itself, there is a mention of the poet Śaṅkara and also of the poet Punam. The latter is mentioned as even at that time giving joy to the world by his poems, thereby indicating that he was even at that time writing poems. Since Māracemantikā appears in both the *Mayūrasandeśa* and in the *Candrotsava* there is no doubt about the two works belonging to the same period. The *Mayūrasandeśa* definitely says that at the time when it was written, Uddaṇḍa was alive. In the *Candrotsava*, there is a mention of poets who were intimately associated with Uddaṇḍa as his contemporaries. Thus the date of Uddaṇḍa decides the date of the *Mayūrasandeśa* and thereby of the *Kaumudī*, written by the author of the *Mayūrasandeśa*. The date of Uddaṇḍa is fixed through the date of the *Tantrasamuccaya*. For Uddaṇḍa being a contemporary of the author of the *Tantrasamuccaya*, tradition alone is the authority. But many ofthe traditions about Uddaṇḍa are corroborated by literary evidences, of which I have already given some indications above.

This proves in a sufficiently convincing way that the *Kaumudī* on the *Locana* was written by king Udaya, who had the Title of Śrīkaṇṭha or Kaṇṭan Kota of Chittilappilli, a Title which is even now borne by a royal family in Malabar. The date of the work is in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

INDIAN CULTURE OUTSIDE INDIA[1]

Prof. P. V. Bapat, M.A., Ph. D.

Thanks to the work of the Greater India Society, Calcutta, in that they have roused the interest in this subject among the educated people by publishing some interesting books in this field.

Culture.

"Culture, in its widest sense, is that coupled whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of the Society." So traces of culture may be discovered in the identity or affinities of language, literature, folklore, philosophy, beliefs, customs, arts such as painting, sculpture, architecture, music etc. It is not necessary to have points of contact under all these heads, but according to the exigencies of the case determined by historical circumstances, there may be one or more points of contact between India on the one hand and other countries outside India on the other.

Sources of information.

To be, therefore, able to say that there are traces of Indian Culture in countries outside India, we must depend upon one or the other of the following sources:

(i) Linguistic affinity determined by the Science of language with sure and certain indications that one language is derived from or closely allied to the other.

(ii) The literature of countries concerned, including tales of folklore.

(iii) Inscriptions in different countries showing, directly or indirectly, contact with and influence of Indian people.

(iv) Works of art such as buildings, caves, pillars, statues, images, paintings, etc.

(v) Historical records, or records of ambassadors or travellers such as Roman, Greek, Arabic or Chinese etc. In this connection, we have, however, to be particularly on guard as these travellers often make statements based on hearsay, or are mis-

1. Extension Lecture delivered at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, on 8th February, 1940.

guided through excessive enthusiasm, or blind religious faith, and do not pay attention to the historicity of statements they make.

(vi) Beliefs and customs of people.

Contact with the West.

It is well-known that after the invasion of India by Alexander the Great in or about 327 B.C., the north-western part of India came into direct contact with the Greeks and when Alexander was dead, the Governors appointed to the various provinces conquered by him threw off the yoke and became Chiefs of independent kingdoms. There was a regular intercourse between the people of these Ionian kingdoms and the people of the North-west India and we have an unmistakable evidence of the Hellinistic influence in the Gāndhāra School of Art.

Chandragupta (Sandracottus as the Greeks call him) rose in power and gradually extended his kingdom to the Magadha from the extreme north-west of India, defeated Selucos Nicator, a chieftain of the Greek Ionian kingdom, (who attempted to recover the Punjab seized from him), and married his daughter. Regular contact gradually developed with western countries such as Syria, Macedonia, Egypt etc. We are told that Bindusāra, son of Chandragupta was in communication with the Syrian King, Antiochus I, who, it is said, was asked by Bindusāra to send him figs, raisins, wine and a Professor.[1] When Asoka came to the throne, he continued this contact with foreign countries on a still larger scale. We know from his Rock-edict No. 13 that he had sent religious missions to the courts of Antiyoko (Antiochus II of Syria, B.C. 260–47), Turameya (Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt, B.C. 285–247), Antakini (Antigonos Gonatos of Macedonia, B.C. 278–239), Maka (Magas, half-brother of Ptolemy and King of Cyrene, a Greek Colony west of Egypt) and Alikasundara (Alexander of Epyrus, an ancient district of northern Greece. Mention is made also of Cola, Pāṇḍya, Tāmraparṇi, Yona-Kamboja and some other countries which are now incorporated in India. In Rock-edict No. 2, also, Asoka says that in countries outside his empire, such as Cola, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra, as well as the kingdoms of Yavanas like that of Antiochus and his neighbours (mentioned above), he had opened hospitals, both for human

1. Smith's History of India, p. 147 (138, 2nd edition.)

beings and dumb cattle. Thus it will be seen that India was no longer an isolated country and there was a regular 'give and take' between the people of India and the people in the West.

Afghanistan.

Now to start on our search for traces of Indian culture, we may commence with our neighbouring country in the north-west—we mean, Afghanistan. The North-eastern part of this country abounds in several Buddhist monuments and this part along with the districts round about Peshavar and Takṣaśilā may form, archæologically and enthnologically, one province. There may be considered seven or eight different groups of these ancient monuments. The famous Chinese traveller, Yuan Chwang, who came to India in the seventh century A. D. describes in his itinerary all these monuments from Balkh (Vālhīkā of Bṛhatsaṃhitā), Bactress of Achemenian Rulers of Persia—only ten miles west of Mazar-i-Shariff, the present capital of Afghan Turkestan—to those in the districts of Peshawar, Purushapur, or Pu-lu-sha-po-lo[1] of Yuan Chwang.

The early European travellers as well as the few British Residents at Kabul, such as Mount Stuart Elphinstone, Charles Masson, Alexander Burness etc. have described some of the most prominent Buddhist monuments in this country. The French Archæological Delegation have done considerable work in this direction recently. Rev. Father H. Heras S. J. of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, visited this country and has published his observations in the Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. VI. part iv (Jan. 1938) pp. 1–52. Rev. Father Heras describes the groups at Balkh, Aibak, a little village at the foot of the Hindukush (where Fa-hsien, another Chinese Traveller of the 5th century, had a retreat in one of the monasteries) on the old caravan route from Balkh to India, Bamiyan, Kapīśa, an ancient city captured by Cyrus the Great and mentioned by the Roman Geographer Pliny, Kabul, Jalalabad and further mentions the two groups—those in the Khyber Pass and those in the Swat Valley, the last of which are already described by Sir Aurel Stein.

1. It may be noted in passing that in consequence of the information obtained from India, the Emperor T'ang-T'ai Tsung sent a mission to that country to learn the art of sugar and candy from sugar-cane.

(Watters Vol. i, 201).

(i) Balkh—Its capital is described[1] by Yuan Chwang as "little Rājagṛha". Most of the monks in the country were Hīnayānists and therefore naturally we could not expect many images. But there are some remnants of stūpas (popularly named as Takht-i-Rustum corresponding to Indian popular names of Pāṇḍava Leṇas or Telīki Laṭ given to Buddhist monuments) and mounds of earth which are remains of old stūpas.

(ii) Aibak—There has been here a stūpa with a shrine on the top for depositing relics as the stūpa is cut out of a solid rock. There are some remains of an old monastery which still possesses dark caves, one above the other, evidently designed to provide for the Buddhist monks cool recesses in the summer heat of the mountains. It is identified with Yu-hway of Fa-haein who had a retreat there in or about 401 or 402 A. D. Many caves called Hazar-sam (Thousand Caves) are found in a ruinous condition.

(iii) Bāmiyan offers the most striking manifestation of the spread of Buddism, one "that is unique", as remarks Rev. Heras "in this country and even in the whole of the Buddhist world". Yuan Chwang lived in the monasteries here for a number of days and gives a realistic description of several places here. He refers to ten convents of the Lokottaravādins of the Hīnayāna School where 10,000 monks were staying. Two monasteries are still to be found where are to be seen even now two huge statues of the Buddha, one 185 ft. and the other 125 ft. in height, though Yuan Chwang describes them to be 140 to 150 ft. high. The French Archæological Delegation mentions 2,000 caves in the two large monasteries, many of which are painted with figures, Buddhas, genii, doors, stūpas, animals and flowers. The French Delegation have also discovered paintings which are now reproduced in or removed to Kabul Museum. Most of the statues (which were seated) are absent and in one case a stūpa is still to be found. A very large seated statue of the Buddha is found mercilessly mutilated. Some years ago (in July 1930) the Delegation also discovered some leaves of MSS. Prof. Levi has deciphered them and has published an interesting paper on them (Journal Asiatique, ccxx. pp. 1–45 Jan.-March 1932). Some of

1. Walters, vol. i. p. 108.

these mss. are in Kushan script of the 3rd and 4th centuries, some in the Gupta script of the 7th and 8th centuries, while others are in the Khotan or Kutcha type of Central Turkestan. One fragment is from Vinaya and the other from the Abhidharma-saṅgītiparyāya. This clearly indicates the communication of this monastery with those in Chinese Turkestan. Another statue, described by Yuan Chwang to be 1,000 ft. or so, of the Buddha at the time of the Parinirvāṇa is now worn out by weather and the people round about believe it to be of the shape of a huge lizard or a dragon. Another monastery not referred to by Yuan Chwang is at the valley of Kakrak where the paintings are famous. All these monasteries are in solitary valleys (like those at Ajintha). The art at Bāmiyan is identical with that at Ajintha. Father Heras says "The same motives of ornamentation (Caitya-widows, stūpas, kīrtimukhas, flowers, animals), the same colour and variety of shadowings, the same Mahāpuruṣas of the purely Indian figures, the same poses, the same almond-shaped eyes, the same delicate and inspiring mudras. The realism of Gāndhāra never entered Bāmiyan monasteries. The art of Bāmiyan is a perfect idealization, according to the Indian æsthetic Canons, of the mysticism of India". Although it is thus essentially Indian, it betrays some Sāssānian influence. The same influence is striking in the monasteries at Kakrak and Dukhtar-i-Noshirwan where the crown and dress of the King as well as the pose of the courtiers are purely Sāssānian.

(iv) Kapiśa is identified variously with Opian, Chārikār Begrām etc. Begram is not a village but extensive valley and though there are no visible stūpas here, there is found one in the village to the north of Charikar at the foot of the mountains. The stūpas are built on the top of small hills and where there are no such hills they are built on specially raised square platforms. One peculiarity is worth noticing—that of a beautiful frieze of little arches in plaster on the stūpas. Two images are carved—that of a king kneeling in adoration to Gautam Buddha and the other of Maitreya Bodhisattva in the centre of a group of figures who are shown to be clad in broad trousers like those of the present Afghans.

(v) Kabul—Yuan Chwang does not seem to have passed through Kabul, as it is not situated on the old caravan route from Balkh to India. The Archæological Delegation have discovered one stūpa and some beautiful images including one of a Bodhisattva in Dhyānamudrā. In the same were found 112 Sāssānian silver coins and 12 golden coins of the Kuṣān-Sāssānian type. There are the remains in the form of the enormous feet of a colossal statue of the Buddha which is now destroyed. There is a village 15 miles from Kabul, which is called even now by the name of Budkhāq meaning the 'land of the Buddha.' There are two huge pillars erected as monuments—perhaps by the visitors that visited the Kabul Valley—on the chain of mountains that separate Kabul from Khurd Kabul. These pillars are 158 ft. high and are built of pieces of slate placed upon one another without any concrete or cement. These pillars with no cement or chunam have withstood the ravages of nature and are considered to be a wonder in the field of engineering.

(vi) Jalalabad—There are a large number of monuments widely scattered in this region which perhaps corresponds to Nagarahāra or Na-kie-lo-ho of Yuan Chwang. From several stūpas in this region are unearthed images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, coins of Graeco-Bactrian dynasty including those of Menander or Milinda, jewels, Kharoṣṭri inscriptions on slabs or vases, several objects of which are now deposited in the museum of Kabul.

Thus it will be noticed that most of these monuments are located in the North—north-east or eastern districts, the western or southern regions being under the influence of Sāssānian os Persian Rulers. We have, however, noticed that these parts were not altogether immune from the Buddhist influence, particularly on account of the efforts of Menander and Kaniṣka, the great patron of Buddhism after Aśoka.[1]

Farther West.

Now let us go still farther west. Here we find the traces of Indian culture from inscriptions, or translations of several Indian works in Pehelvi, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, Spanish or Hebrew.

1. Journal of the Uni. of Bombay, vol. vi, part iv (Jan. 1938) pp. 1-52.

There is a very close similarity between the language of the Vedic Saṃhitas and Avesta and Old Persian and scholars of this branch of studies tell us that it often becomes possible to translate the old Persian inscriptions of 6th century B. C. into the language of the Vedas showing that the Iranian people must have lived in close neighbourhood of the Aryans even after their separation. In 1907, Hugo Winkler discovered at Boghazköi in Asia Minor, certain clay-tablets written in cuneiform (wedge-shaped) style, incorporating certain documents of a contract between the King of Hittites (14th century B. C.) and the King of Mitani. Along with the names of the Babylonian and Mitani gods and deities that are invoked, certain names of the Aryan gods such as Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Nāsatyau are mentioned. Though scholars like Oldenberg and Keith look upon these names as those of Iranian people, Meyer and Winternitz look upon them as names of Āryan gods. This may refer to the period when Iranians or Aryans were still together or it may mean that some Āryan Indians had gone, by some chance, so far as Mitani[1] to the north-west of Nineveh of the Assyrians.

"The Upanishads which may be said to belong to world-literature influenced the western thought long before they were studied by European scholars. Persian Sufism owed much to these doctrines and it is probable that the mystic-theosophical logos doctrine of the neo-Platonic school and of the Alexandrian Christians and even the teachings of the Christian mystics, Eckhart and Tauler, were in some way or the other influenced by the Ātman or Brahman doctrine of the Upanishads."[2]

Much has been said about the relation of the Bhagavadgītā and the New Testament and though a few Christian scholars believe that the Bhagavadgītā was influenced by Christian ideas, no credence can be given to such claims. The late Lokamānya Tilak has shown in his Introduction to the Gītārahasya the impossibility of such claims.[3]

Buddhism has become a world religion and there are several parables and similes of the Buddhist Sacred literature which are

1. Winternitz, 'Some Problems of Indian Literature' (Cal. Uni. Press, 1905) pp. 16-17.

2. Winternitz, ibid. p. 60.

3. Marathi edition of 1915, pp. 580-588

traced in Christian Gospels. Winternitz, however, thinks[1] that there are only a few cases of *certain* borrowings, though there are several cases where there are *probable* and very many where there are *possible* borrowings. The legend of Asita going to see the infant Buddha and prophesying the future resembles that of Simeon in St. Luke. There has been a book 'Barlāam and Joasaph or Josaphat' which has been all round admitted to be derived from the Buddhists. This work was probably first composed in the Pehelvi language of the 6th or 7th century A. D. and afterwards translated into Arabic and Syrian. From the Syrian, the Greek version was derived, which was translated into Latin and then into almost all the European languages. Hebrew and Ethiopic versions also are available. Barlaam in the story is Bhagavān and Joasaph or Judasaph or Budasaph is Bodhisattva of the Buddhists. They are even canonised as saints and 27th November is observed as a day in their honour. No one seems to have taken the trouble to inquire who Barlaam and Joasaph were.[2] There are two Arabic versions which are free from every Christian dogma. One of these appears to be directly taken from Pehelvi. The other was printed in Safdarin Printing Press in Bombay. In this book, besides the main story, there is a large number of parables which are taken directly from Indian sources.

We find, likewise, several versions of the Pañcatantra which is rightly considered to be a book of world-literature. Sāssanian King Khosru Anoshervan (531–579 A. D.) had the book translated by the physician Burzoe in Pehevli. It was subsequently translatsd into Syrian by a Christian monk, Bud, in 570 A. D. Arabic translation was made about 750 with the title 'Kalila Va Dimna' which along with the Syrian Kalilaga and Damnaga ate corruptions of Karaṭaka and Damanaka, the two famous jackals of the Pañcatantra. There were further later versions in Syraic (about 1,000 A. D.), Greek (1,180 A. D.), (Persian 1,130 A. D.), Spanish (1,251 A. D.) and Hebrew (1,250 A. D.). Śukasaptati is translated into Persian and Turkish languages and the former

1. Winternitz, Some Problems of Indian Literature, p. 64.

2. See p. xxix of the Intro. to Barlaam and Yewasef, being the Ethiopic version of a Christianised version of the Buddhist legend of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva, by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, Cambridge University Press, 1923.

translation, Tutināmā, was made in 1329–30. Vetāla-pañca-viṃśati and Vikramacarita (or Siṃhāsana-dvātriṃśikā) have versions, as Winternitz[1] tells us, at least in part in Mongolian. A Persian translation was made of the latter about 1,574 A. D. by the order of the Emperor Akabar and the Mongolian version of the same is styled "the story of Ardshi Bordshi Khan".

The philosophical ideas of the early Greek Philosophers, Thales, Empedocles, Anexagoras, Democritus, Epicuros can be traced to Indian thinkers. Pythogorean theorem can be traced to Indian works on geometry lide Śulbasūtra. The system of writing numerical figures is taken from India and the mathematical works of Siddhānta and Ahargaṇa written by Āryabhaṭa and Brahmagupta respectively passed into Europe through Arabic translations. The Khaliphs of Baghdad invited Indian astronomers to their court. Caraka and Suśruta, the famous Indian works on medicine, were got translated by the Khaliphs of Baghdad and extracts from these works have been given by the Arabic Physician Al-Razi who died in 932 A. D. Latin translations of Arabic works repeatedly mention Caraka. Arabic medicine based upon Indian medicine was the chief authority in Europe down to the 17th century. Prof. Macdonnell also refers[2] to the fact that European Surgery borrowed from India the operation of rhinoplasty or the formation of artificial noses only in the last century or two (since the English became acquainted with it in India). Further the game of Chess was introduced in Europe about 1,100 A. D. through the Arabs (Satranj = Caturaṅga) from India where perhaps it was borrowed from the Chinese.

Words like Romaka-siddhānta and Horāśāstra reveal, on the other hand, the Greek influence upon Indians.

Central Asia.

Now let us turn towords the north *i. e.* Central Asia, particularly Chinese Turkestan, which was perhaps a happy meeting place of Indian, Christian and Moslem Faiths. We must be indebted to the Great Explorer, Sir Aurel Stein, who carried on his explorations three times, in 1900–01, 1,906–08, and 1,913–16. The second

1. Winternitz, Some Problems of Indian Literature, p. 70.
2. History of Sanskrit Literature (Appleton Dollar Library) pp. 420–21, 424, 426–27.

expedition was very fruitful in results as he discovered in 1,907 the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, huge cases, about 24 in number, full of painted scrolls, works of embroidery in gold and silk, and books of fragments of MSS. In a monastery which he discovered in the sandy deserts of Gobi, he found a room 9 ft. long, 9 ft. broad, and 6 ft. high, closely cemented, full of books and fragments of MSS. of texts such as Prātimokṣasūtra (Pali Pātimokkha), Dīrghāgama, Madhyamāgama, Saṃyuktāgama, Ekottarāgama, Udānavarga ; of Sanskrit versions of stray Sūtras in Pali Aṭṭhakavagga and Pārāyaṇa vagga, of Prākrit versions of the Dhammapada, of the Sanskrit text of the Kāśypa-parivarta (a Mahāyāna work of the Ratnakuṭa class) and of several Tibetan and Chinese translations and transliterations of Indian texts, whole or in fragments. It may be remarked in passing that several works of the Buddhists are translated in the languages of this territory of Central Asia or round about. There is a Turkish and Urgui translation of the Divyāvadāna, a famous work of the Sarvāstivādins. There is an Urgui translation of Suvarṇaprabhāsa and several other translations of the same such as those in Soghdish, and West-mongolian could be inferred from fragments of those versions discovered in the finds of the Third German Turfan Expedition. This text also claims translations in Mongolian, Manchurian and Chinese languages. There is one in Khotan-Sakish speech which is interesting from the linguistic point-of-view. There is a fragment of Soghdian versian of the Udānavarga. Another interesting thing to note is that we sometimes find easy methods adopted by the people in these countries to learn a difficult language like Sanskrit—the method of using transliterations in local dialects or in Tibetan, Chinese, or Soghdian etc. In Japan and Tibet also we find such methods. See, for instance, the facsimile given by Prof. Maxmuller in " Buddhist Texts from Japan ", Anecdota Oxoniensia. Dr. F. W. Thomas, or the other hand, has recently published in Zeischrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (vol. 91, pp. 1–48, 1937) a Buddhist Chinese text in Brāhmī Script.

Mongolia.

Now let us go further east to China, Mongolia, Korea, Japan etc. We have already referred above to the Mongolian translations of fables. There is a Mongolian version of Suvarṇa-prabhāsa, at least in

part and of Brahmajālasūtra, Bodhicaryāvatāra and Vajracchedikā. We are told that Kublakhan of Mongolia wanted to have the Tripiṭaka translated into Mongolian language but they could not find any competent person to undertake this work. In Mongolia, there was discovered by Mr. V. Panov, some years ago, an octagonal stone with a text from the shorter Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra. That stone has now been preserved in the Museum at Harbin in Manchukuo. This inscription is written in a north-Indian script of the 10th century, if not earlier. Prof. N. D. Mironov has reproduced another version of Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra which he discovered on a bell brought from a shrine in Peking. He also mentions three more stone-slabs with Sanskrit Dhāraṇī texts inscribed on them. They are found at Kin-chou, Mukden, and at Pah-men-cheng in front of a shrine.[1] That at Mukden is dated 713–714 A. D.

China.

Contact with China was first established, according to Prof. Lévi with a Chinese Ambassador who came to the court of Kushan kings. According to Chinese sources, a delegation of thirteen members was sent to India. Soon afterwards in the first century of the Christian era, an Indian Paṇḍita, Kāśyapa Mātaṅga, was sent to China and he started the work of translating sūtras with the help of Chinese scholars. These early translations, naturally, were not quite satisfactory, attempt being made merely to restrict one's attention to words rather than to sense. The first Chinese version of the Dhammapada (by Vighna in A. D. 224), for instance, belongs to this class. The translator's simple words could not express properly the ideas, as the translators tried to be very literal to the original. To the same class we may also relegate the Chinese translation of Arthavargīya Sūtras (corresponding to the Pali Aṭṭhakavagga) ascribed to Tsa-Chien of the Wu Dynasty (222–280 A. D.).

The second period commenced with Kumārajīva (344 A. D.) who trained local students like Fa-hien and independent works also came to be written by Chinese scholars. Fa-hein went to India, Ceylon, Malay Archipilego, collected several books and

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1. See Journal of the Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute, vol. iii. pp. 73–78.

after his return to China translated the Mahāsanghika Vinaya with the help of Buddhabhadra. He wrote lives of Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna and the account of his travels.

The third period begins with the arrival of Guṇavarman, a Kashmirian Kṣatriya, who went to Ceylon, Java and thence to China. He was very much instrumental in furthering the cause of the Buddhists when they were persecuted in the Malay Archipilego. India Pandits like Dharmaruci, Ratnamati, Bhodhiruci flourished between 500 and 600 A. D.

The fourth period begins with Jinagupta (557 A. D.) from Gandhāra, Paramārtha and Narendrayaśas, who last went to China through the whole length of India from Udyāna (the country of the Swat Valley) to Ceylon and thence by sea-route. Yuan Chwang and I–tsing visited India between 600 and 700 A. D. The former after a long stay for about 16 years for study went to China with about 1,500 books of which he translated about 75.

The fifth period (8th century A. D.) begins with Amoghvajra who translated several Tantric works. He came again to India, and went back. In a report he made in 771 A. D., he refers to seventy-seven works translated by him.

After a break for about a century when there appeared to be no communication, we hear that communication was started again in the 10th and 11th centuries and it finally stopped with the last monk Jnāna-śrī. Buddhism has been the inspiring force behind the whole of the Chinese Tripiṭaka and the Chinese Buddhists feel grateful to India for having given to them as well as to all the Buddhists in the world, the Great Religious Founder, Gautama Buddha.[1]

Japan.

As Japan has inherited Indian culture and the religion of the Buddha through China and Korea, we may not dwell long upon this country. There are some monasteries which have treasured Sanskrit Texts. A palm-leaf MSS. of the Sukhāvatīvyūha came to Japan in A. D. 609 and Prof. Max Muller remarks that it is perhaps the oldest

1. Prof. Max Muller mentions having received a copy block-printed in China of a book containing Sanskrit texts वज्रच्छेदिका and अवलोकितेश्वरसूत्र.

Sanskrit MSS. extant. Another text is 'A Glossary of Thousand Sanskrit and Chinese Words' brought from China by Zakaku who went to China in 837 A. D. and returned in 847 A. D. Certain Pali texts in Sinhalese, Burmese, or Cambodian characters are also stored with Palm-leaf MSS. of Vajracchedikā, Prajñāhṛdaya-sūtra, Bhadracaripraṇidhāna and Uṣṇīṣavijayadhāriṇī. The MS. of Vajracchedikā has a Tibetan counterpart with the Sanskrit text, Tibetan transliteration, and Tibetan translation written in three lines, all throughout. The Zen sect of the Japanese corresponds to Dhyānapanthīyas. Dr. G. S. Khair of the Anātha-vidyārthī Gṛha, Poona, who was on a sojourn to Japan describes in his latest book 'Japāncī Jīvanakrānti' some customs agreeing with those in India. He mentions, for instance, the following:— To leave some grains of rice[1] and coins before the images of gods, to pay homage to these images, washing hands and rinsing mouth, to burn perfume-sticks or incense, to recite stotras, to have a śrāddha ceremony etc.—all these customs are taken from India. Religious processions with suitable cries, with the beating of drums, going round an image (pradakṣiṇā), and taking home a part of the offerings placed before the images are unmistakably taken from India. In spite of the Chinese characters, the Japanese have adopted the Sanskrit alphabet with certain modifications. Until the non-vegetarian diet to which the Japanese changed over in the last century (about 60 years ago), vegetarian diet prevailed. There are meditation halls even in some schools. Railings are found round the images beyond which ordinary persons are not allowed to go. Shoes are taken away before entering temples. The nuns admitted to convents have their heads shaved and wear black garments. Who can deny the Indian influence in all these customs?

Tibet.

Although Tibet is so near India, it is interesting to note that Buddhism was not introduced there till the middle of the 7th century, when a Chinese Princess was married into the Royal family. Then a Nepalese princess also came, and monasteries gradually came to be established. Thon-mi-Sambhot was responsible for giving a good impetus to this contact with India. He carried several

1. pp. 47–48, 61 etc.

works on Buddhism from India and introduced Tibetan alphabet, adapting it from the Gupta Script. In the 9th century, during the reign of Ral-po-chen, several Buddhist Pandits were invited from India, among whom may be mentioned Dīpankara Śrījñāna, Dharmakīrti and Vidyākarprabha. When in 1,203, Bakhtyar Khilji destroyed the temples and monasteries and Universities at Nālandā, Jagaddala or Vikramaśilā, several Buddhist Ācāryas like Sāntarakṣita, Āryadeva, Śilabhadra, Dharmapāla, Candragomin, Kamalaśīla, Sthiramati etc. went to Tibet.

Tibetan Tripiṭaka contains versions of several texts in Pali and Sanskrit Tripiṭaka and is, therefore, indispensable for comparative study. In addition, it includes translations of works of great Masters like Nāgārjuna,[1] Āryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dinnāga, Dharmakīrti etc. and what is more is that there are several translations, the Indian originals of which are now lost for ever. These Tibetan translations are the only traces left of several important works. Along with the translations of Buddhist works, there are several of non-Buddhist works also. We find translations of Meghadūta of Kālidāsa, Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin ; of books in metrics like Chandoratnākara and Vṛttamālāstuti ; of books in grammar like Pāṇini's Sūtras and its Vṛtti like Prakriyākaumudī or other works like Candravyākaraṇa, Kalāpa and Sārasvata etc. ; of books on Nīti like Āryakośa, Subhāṣitaratnakadaṇḍa ; of works in lexicography like Amarakośa and its Commentary ; of books in medicine like Aṣṭāngahṛdaya of Vāgbhaṭa as well as its Commentary ; and of other miscellaneous works like Śilpaśāstra, Rasāyana etc. There are some translations also from Apabhraṃśa as well as from Chinese. Thus it will be seen that it is a highly important collection of about 4,500 works which are directly or indirectly connected with Indian thought and culture. Recently the well-known Buddhist scholar,Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana, who visited Tibet several times, published an article in the Journal of the Bihar and the Orissa Research Society, vol. xxi, pp. 21–43 in which he gives the names of about 184 Sanskrit books, the palm-leaf MSS. of which written in different scripts like Māgadhī, Kuṭilā, Nevārī,

1. See Bhoṭaprakāśa, by Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, Cal. Uni. Intro. pp. xxiv–xxviii.

Purānamaithilī, Vartula, Nāgarī etc. were discovered by him from April to Nov. 1934. Some of the works to be specially noted are as follows :—

Dharmapada, Sanskrit translation from Pali by the Indian Pandit Vanaratna (1384–1468) who was ordained in Ceylon, written in Māgadhī script; Arthaviniścayasūtra, Nyāyabindu-ṭīkā, Sūtrālaṅkāra, Vajrasūcī (in Nāgarī script), Prātimokṣasūtra, Pramāṇavārtika, Vādanyāya[1] and its Ṭīkā, Abhidharmakośakārikā, Vārtikālankāra,[1] and even Ratirahasya of Kokā Pandit. It appears that Sanskrit manuscripts were so much valued with reverential regard that they were taken to smaller monasteries and enshrined in the images; as for instance, Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārtika was discovered in an image of his. Once an old stucco image fell down and inside some MSS. were found. When the image was restored, the MSS. were put back again. Now it is also occasionally found that bits of some of these MSS. are offered by ignorant priests to rich devotees.

Now let us turn our attention to Asiatic countries in the South and South-east including the islands in the Indian Ocean. The history of Ceylon and Burma and their association with and debt to India are too well-known and we do not propose to dwell upon these countries. It is interesting to note that even in old libraries of Burma, Buddhist books on Mahāyāna could be traced and Sanskrit books like Nyāyabindu and its Commentary could be available.

Siam.

When we turn our attention to Siam, Anam (Champā) Cambodia, Malay Peninsula, Sumātrā, Jāvā, Borneo, Bali etc. we find that a much stronger lead was taken by the followers of Hinduism than by those of Buddhism. The Hindus, either the followers of Shiva or Vishṇu, were often earlier in this field. The inscriptions that have been discovered in these countries are mostly in Sanskrit, with a few like those in Siam and Borneo, which are in Tamil and Pallava languages respectively. We also see images of Vishṇu, Lakshmi, Śiva, Durgā, and even of Gaṇesh (in Bankok) as well as the Buddhist stūpas. The temples in Siam resemble

1. Recently edited by Rahula-Sānktyāyana and published by Deva priya, Sarnath, Benares, (Law Journal Press, Allahabad).

those with Gopura architecture in South India. Brahmanic influence was soon supplanted by that of Buddhism, although we are told that even now there are a few Brahmins (about 80) in Bankok. The Laws of the land are inherited from, or at least drew the inspiration from, Dharmaśāstras and from Manu. There are several Sanskrit and Pali inscriptions. There is Nīti literature, perhaps, derived from Bali which in turn was influenced by India. There are ceremonies like the Swing-festival or rituals like the shearing of the tuft of hair on the head (Cūdākartana). There are several Indian words which can be seen through the Siamese garb. The King's Council has Amanchas (Amātyas) such as Montree (Mantrī) and Parohita (Purohita). Words like Fram (Brahman), añchuli (añjali), kampola (kambala), Futtha (Buddha), thuka (dukkha), absā (apsarā), vivaha (vivāha), Chattokhāho (chattaggāho), akkhamahesī (aggamahesī), Sukhothaya (Sukhodaya), Ayūthia (Ayodhyā) and a host of others are words of Indian origin.

The colonisation of Siam by the Indian people was subsequent to that in Anam (Champā) and Cambodia. For some centuries she was under the subjugation of Cambodia until Shri-Indrāditya became the first King of Siam in 1,218, As an entirely independent kingdom, she emerged with the foundation of new kingdom of Ayuthia in 1,350. After some vicissitudes a new dynasty was established at Bankok by Chao Phaua Chakkri in 1,782 with which year the modern period of Siam begins.

Anam.

Shri-Māra (Kiu-lien of the Chinese) of Champā (eastern part of modern Anam) established his dynasty about the 2nd century A. D., which probably ruled till the end of the first quarter of the sixth century (529 A. D.). This dynasty was successively followed by the dynasties of Gangārāja, Pānduranga, Bhṛgu upto 972 A. D. King Bhadravarman of the last dynasty, one inscription tells us, was well-versed in the six systems of Brahmanical philosophy, Buddhist philosophy, the grammar of Pāṇini together with Kāśikā and the Uttarakalpa of Śaivites. Then follows a period of about 500 years involving wars with the neighbouring kingdoms of Cambodia (Kamboja), Anam and Mongols. The last king of Hindu power in Champā was crushed when he sustained

a terrific defeat at the hands of the Anamite Emperor in the last quarter of the 15th century (1,478). Some petty chiefs later assumed the name of the kings of Champā for some three or four centuries till 1882 when the last king Po-Chang went over to Camboj to escape the tyrrany of the Annamites.

Cambodia.

Cambodia reveals in the wonderful temple of Ankor-vat a splendid and unrivalled monument of Hindu culture. It was built by a Khmer King who lived between 1,112 and 1,145. The temple is a square, each side being about a little less than a mile surrounded by a moat. It appears to be like an island in the middle of a lake. The structure of the temple with its wonderful carving gives an impression to a visitor that the building of such a temple must have been a far more difficult task than that of building pyramids.

Malay Peninsula, Sumātra, Borneo.

For the history of the early colonisation in Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Borneo, Java, Bali we have to rely upon sources that are Greek, Arabic, Chinese and Indian, including the fictitious literature as Jātakas, Bṛhatkathā etc. as well as the Tantric literature like the Manjuśrīmūlakalpa, along with the inscriptions found in those regions. There are references to Suvarṇabhūmi in Chinese, Arabic, Greek, Indian sources as well as in the inscriptions in Sumatra. A Nepalese manuscript mentions 'Suvarṅapure Sri-vijayapure'. Kathāsaritsāgara mentions Kāñcanapura. Bāṇa's Kādambari mentions Suvarṇapura.[1] Pali Niddesa (vol. i. 154–55) as well as the Milindapañha (p. 259) refers to voyages to Suvaṇṇapura and Takkola with which, says Prof. Lévi, the Greek account of Ptolemy fairly agrees. Shri-vijaya, or according to another authority Shri-bhoja, where also the Chinese traveller Fa-hien lived for some time, is identified with Sam-bo-tsai or modern Palembang in Sumatra. Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa mentions Karmaranga (which appears to be merely a variation of Carmaranga also referred to as such). Bāṇa mentions twice in his Harṣcarita the shield of Carmarang which according to his Commentatora, Śaṅkara, was famous[2] for the skin of the

1. But this mention (pp. 119–121, Peterson's ed.) seems to refer to a mythical place. 2. "Suvarṇadvīpa" Vol. i by R. C. Majumdara, p. 74.

country. Along with Karmaranga, the same Tantric work also refers[1] to the islands of Nāḍikera and Vāruṣka (Baos, Sumatra) and the islands of the Naked (modern Nikobar islands), Bāli and Java where the language is indistinct, without clearness, rude and abounding in the letter 'ra'. Bṛhatsaṃhitā also mentions Vṛṣa, Nāḷikera and Carmadvīpa, which may be identified with Vāruṣka, Nāḍikera, and Karmaranga or Carmaranga of Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa. This Karmaranga is identified with Ptolemy's Sawarande, Yuan Chwang's Kāmalankā, Itsing's Lang-kia-tsu, or modern Ligor towards the north of the Malay Peninsula. The Chinese accounts of Lang-kia-tsu shows that the customs and manners of the people of this region are like those of Indians, except that they are modified by indigenous influences.

There are five inscriptions discovered in Malay and Sumatrā, one of which is in Sanskrit, and the other four in old Malay language. The Sanskrit inscription is found at Ligor in Malay Peninsula to the south of the Bay of Bandon. The inscriptions of about 400 A. D. in Borneo show traces of Hindu as well as Buddhist influence, the first type telling us about a king named Mūlavarman. Among those that are Buddhist, we find some repeating the well-known Buddhist verses beginning with 'ajñānāt cīyate karma' or 'Ye dharmā hetuprabhavā' etc.

Java.

Java, or Yavadvīpa, or Iabadiou of Ptolemy, or Ye-Tiao of Chinese Records is by far the most outstanding among the Hindu Colonies. According to a legend it was first colonised by Aji Saka associated with the heroes of the Mahābhārata. Probably it was colonised by the Hindus from Kalinga. The Chinese Records tell us that there went to China in 132 A. D. an Embassy from Tiao-pien, King of Ye-Tiao. Fa-hein records various forms of Brahmanism but it appears that Buddhism soon came in the field through the efforts mainly of Kashmirian Pandita, Guṇavarman, who later went to China in a ship owned by a Hindu Merchant named

1. कर्मरंगाख्यद्वीपेषु नाडीकेरसमुद्भवे
द्वीपवारुषके चैव नग्नवालिसमुद्भवे ।
यवद्वीपिवा सत्त्वेषु तदन्यसमुद्भवा
वाचा 'र'-कारबहुला तु वाचा अस्फुटतां गता ॥ [मञ्जुश्री॰ p. 332.]

Nandin, (Nan-ti). This island is famous for the Buddhist stūpa at Borobodur where the Buddhist stories from the Jātakas as well as the stories from the Great Indian Epics have attracted the attention of all Indian scholars. This stūpa of the 9th century lacks the magnificent spread of Ankor Vat, but has the richness of ornament and thus compensates the eye. The inscriptions found in this country tell us of a King, Pūrṇavarman, and mentions the names of canals such as Candrabhāgā and Gomatī. We have also references to Tithis and also to Dhanus as standards of measurement.

Bali.

Bali is the only existing remnant of the Hindu Culture in the Islands in the Indian Ocean. It still retains its fourfold caste-system as in India. Satee was long practised. Cow is revered and cremation occurs on a very large scale. This island seems to be colonised directly from India. Female priests, especially young maidens, form a feature to be noted. Earliest tāmrapatras are written in Old Balenese language, though the modern language is Kavi. The names of Hindu gods like Shiva, Vishṇu, Brahmā, Durgā, Śarasvatī are met with but the most striking feature of Hinduism in this island is the complete absence of images of deities. When they are supposed to appear in some material form, a small piece of gold is considered to be their favourite place of incarnations The Balenese are wonderfully gifted in matters of art. If they have no images, the walls around are profusely ornamented with figures of the best workmanship.[1] To this island fled the kings of Java who did not want to submit to the Muslim Power when it began to gain supremacy there. Dances based upon incidents in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata are popular entertainments.

Thus in Malayasia, the Indian civilization had taken its root till the 8th century A. D. The Brahmanical religion was soon followed by Buddhism. Hīnayāna of the Mūla Sarvāstivādins was first practised, but it appears from later records like inscriptions that Mahāyānism also came to be accepted. I-tsing also refers to the existence of Yogaśāstra (of Asanga) in Shrivijaya.

1. Sylvain Levi, Sanskrit texts from Bali (Gaikwad Oriental Series, 1933).

This dawn of civilization was soon followed by the glorious noon-day height of the Śāilendra Empire, which was in ascendancy from the 8th to the 12th century A. D., soon after the beginning of which the dynasty began to decline. The Cholas in South India rose in power and the struggle with this power as well as the internicine quarrels, the slow penetration of Islam through contact with Muslim merchants from Guzerat or Arabia may be considered as powerful factors to bring down the downfall of this Empire.

Lastly, the island of Madagaskar is also supposed to have been under the influence of India. Ferrand has drawn our attention to the fact that the Indonesian language, mixed with Sanskrit vocabulary, was current in Madagaskar. This fact along with a tradition current in Madagaskar that the people of the country came from Mangalore made him come to the conclusion that Madagaskar was once colonised by Hinduised Indonesians.[1]

Madagaskar.

Thus it will be seen from the foregoing how India once formed a source of inspiration to countries in all directions— to the western countries upto Greece, Egypt etc., to the north and east : the whole of Central, Asia, China, Mongolia, Japan, etc., and to the south and south-east to Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Malay Peninsula and the Indian Ocean islands like Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Bali etc.[2]

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1. The information of these countries in the South-east Asia is gathered from the following valuable books.—
   (i) The Indian Colony of Siam by Prof. Phanindranath Bose. (The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore, 1927).
   (ii) Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, vol. I. Champa by Dr. R. C. Majumdar (Punjab Book Depot, 1927).
   (iii) Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, vol. II. Suvarṇadvīpa by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dacca, 1937.

2. The Author acknowledges his debt to the various authors that have been mentioned in this paper or in the foot-notes. He would also like to mention here, in passing, the most interesting monograph on 'Gaṇeṣa' by Alice Getty, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1936.

BRAHMAN AND SARASVATĪ

V. V. Dixit.

Horror and disgust of incest is deeprooted in the Aryan traditions. In the dialogue between Yama and his sister Yami in Rv. x. 10, the latter expresses an ardent desire for sexual union with her brother. Yama very firmly refuses to gratify her passions saying such a thing is abominable, sinful and unheard-of, (न यत्पुरा चकृमा कद्ध नूनं x. 10. 4, पापमाहुः यःस्वसारं निगच्छात् x. 10. 12). Yama and Yami correspond to Adam and Eve, the first mortal pair.

The story of Brahman falling in love with his own daughter Sarasvati is the Purāṇic version of the Vedic myth of Prajāpati and his daughters. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (i. 7. 4) tells us how he was enamoured of his daughter. Prajāpati assumed the form of the dear and had an intercourse with her. For this sin Rudra hit him with an arrow and wounded him. The same myth occurs in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (3. 33) प्रजापतिः स्वां दुहितरमभ्यध्यायद्दिवमित्यन्य आहुरुषसमित्यन्ये, तामृश्योभूत्वा रोहितंभूतामभ्यैत्. Here the daughter is spoken of as द्यौस् or उषस्. In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (ii. 3. 10) Prajapati's daughter is referred to as सीतासावित्री or सूर्यासावित्री. Prajāpati of the Brāhmaṇa literature later on becomes Brahman. He is entrusted with the function of creating the universe. Prajāpati played the same rôle as his very name indicates. He is identified with year (संवत्सर) or Yajña. According to some scholars the myth of Prajāpati has a reference to an astronomical event viz. the precession of vernal equinox, which was the beginning of the sacrificial year. Prajāpati's incest is symbolical of the retrograde motion of the year. The year (Prajāpati) shifted itself from Punarvasu to Mṛgaśiras. This was figuratively spoken of as an incest.

This myth is expanded by the Purāṇas. According to मत्स्यपुराण (अध्याय ३) Brahman (old Prajāpati) creates Śatarūpā from one part of his body and marries her. Śatarūpā is also known as Sāvitrī, Sarasvatī Gāyatrī and Brahmāṇī. Sarasvatī later on becomes Goddess of Learning. This is quite proper because her father and husband created or uttered the four Vedas from his

four mouths. Śiva cut off the fifth head of Brahman, who cast a sinful glance at his daughter, by way of punishment. This is a Puraṇic version of Rudra hitting Prajāpati with his arrow.

In Vedic literature Sarasvatī is famous as a sacred river. The Purāṇas tried to identify the sacred stream with Sarasvati, the daughter of Brahman. *Brahma Purāṇa* (Ch. 101) narrates the story thus : Sarasvatī used to visit her father with a view to pay him her respects. One day king Purūravas noticed her superb beauty and raped her. When Brahman knew this he cursed her that she would be turned into a river. Sarasvatī pleaded her innocence. Upon this Brahman modified the curse saying. "The river would be very sacred."[1]

Both Prajāpati and Brahman are the source and fountain head of all knowledge. We know that Vedic sacrifice gave an impetus to all branches of learning. Prajāpati, the deity of Vedic sacrifice, is able to create the progeny on account of his omniscience.

In course of time a fresh deity arose who usurped the function of Prajāpati and Brahman. That deity is Gaṇapati. He is the lord of all knowledge like them. As they have two daughters—or one daughter with two different names—whom they marry, Gaṇapati also has two wives Śāradā and Sarasvatī. Śāradā represents profane learning and Sarasvatī represents sacred learning. The earlier idea that the daughters became wives of the father was dropped as it was unæsthetic to the refined taste.

Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning, is clearly derived from an older deity found in the Veda viz. Vāk. Vāk is Logos, the holy word that brings forth creation. It is wedded to Brahman, the lord of creation. He creates the universe through Vāk, his faculty.

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1. This episode is closely related to the dialogue between पुरूरवा and उर्वशी which is found in RV. X. 95 उर्वशी like सरस्वती has her abode in water. She is an अप्सरस्.

THE PRAVARGYA LEGEND
A STORY OF PRECESSION OF THE EQUINOX

M. Raja Rao

The Pravargya legend is one of those Vedic myths that have served as repositories of the earliest traditions of the Aryan peoples. As pointed out by Dr. R. Shamasastry, its primary purpose seems to have been to effect a re-adjustment of the sacrificial calendar.[1] In the picturesque and figurative language of the Vedic poets, it was a ritual instituted to celebrate the restoration by the Asvins of the head of Makha (or the sacrifice) that had been cut off some time before. Later on it was nvested with esoteric meanings and incorporated into the Upasad function which constitutes one of preliminary ceremonials of the Soma sacrifice. Its purpose was transformed into that of creating for the sacrificer a purified body[2] or of acquiring for him divine light and glory from the sun as represented by the glowing Mahavira pot.[3] The later mysticism obscured the original significance. The Taittiriya Āranyaka found it necessary to emphasize that "this pravargya is principally efficacious through texts addressed to the Asvins,"[4] because the ceremonial details had shifted the importance to other gods.[5] The Rig-veda merely alludes to the story of Makha's head being cut off.[6] The Taittirīya Saṁhitā identifies Makha with the sacrifice (yajña)[7] and states that the Aśvins replaced the head of the sacrifice.[8] The Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā adds reference to the ants.[9] The Brahmanas clothed these bones with flesh and blood and developed them into an elaborate ritual.[10]

1. Dr. R. Shamasastry : Drapsa, p. 113 ; p. 158.
2. Haug : Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iv–18.
3. Eggeling : Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇḍa xiv. Introduction.
4. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. iv, p. 129.
5. Śatapatha Br., Kanda xiv., Ait. Br. iv, 18. Śukla Yajurveda Books 36 to 39.
6. Rig-veda x, 171–2 ; ix, 101–13.
7. Taittiriya Samhita, i, 1–8-1 ; iii, 2–4-3.
8. Tait. Sam. vi, 4–9; Muir : iv, p. 129.
9. Vājasaneyi Sam. Book 37–4.
10. Taittiriya Āraṇyaka Prapāṭhakas 7 add 8, Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtras ; Adhyaya 16.

2. To students of Vedic research, the importance of the Pravargya legend lies more in the tradition that it embodies than in the religious ritual that was based on it. When I read the several versions of the Pravargya legend (purā-kalpa) found collected together in Muir's Sanskrit texts (vol. iv. pp. 121–129), it struck me that they enshrined valuable astronomical information and afforded a clear evidence that the Vedic Rishis were not unware of the precession of the seasonal colures. As usual with them they embedded their observations in a myth. In his celebrated article on the age of the Rig-veda contributed to the Indian Antiquary (vol. 23. p. 154.) Dr. Jacobi has issued a warning that research scholars are apt to ignore. Unlike Greek and Roman writings, Vedic accounts are not historical records of contemporary events. On the other hand many of the references they contain relate to a state of things that should have existed long before and only a memory of which was preserved by tradition and handed down from generation to generation. During this process it was inevitable that the ancient tradition acquired new details and new meanings before it assumed its present form. Judged from this point of view, the Pravargya tradition relates to a period of time when the vernal equinox was incident in Makha Nakshatra (Regulus) and the winter solstice in the Krittikas (Pleiades). It takes us back to the close of the last Ice Age which, according to American geologists, should have ended in the northern hemisphere by about 9000 B.C.[1] The re-adjustment of the sacrificial calendar should have been undertaken when the varnal equinox had raceded into Punarvasu and the winter solstic into the Aśvinis. This was the period referred to by Lok. B. C. Tilak as the Pre-Aditi period in his Orion and which according to European archaeologists marked the commencement of the Egyptian calendar.[2] I do not claim for the Vedic Aryans a hoarier antiquity than has been accorded to the Egyptians and the Sumerians. History and recent archaeological discoveries inform us that civilisations have sprung up at about the same times in different parts of the globe and

11. Encyclopaedia Britanica : Glaciation : De Geer's Estimate.

12. Miss Proctor : Every Man's Astronomy : pp. 138 and sequel. Maunders : Astronomy withour a telescope.

progressed on almost parallel lines, quite independently of each other.[1] As Dr. Max-Muller has clearly pointed out there was no necessity for the Vedic Aryans or their ancestors to wait the development of the lunar zodiac by the Babylonians for importing it and weaving it into their religious fabric.[2] As Sir Robert Ball has aptly remarked, "the changes of the seasons, the recurrence of the seed-time and harvest, must from the earliest times have been associated with certain changes in the position of the sun. The earliest observers of the stars can hardly have failed to notice that the constellations visible at night varied with the season of the year. Indeed in ancient days the time for commencing the cycle of agricultural operations was sometimes indicated by the positions of the constellations in the evening."[3] The Vedic seers seem to have determined the movements of the sun among the stars by noting the stars that were visible in the neighbourhood of the sun at sunrise and sunset.[4] A knowledge of the stars was indispensable to a people like the Aryans of Vedic times who were partly pastoral and partly agricultural. "The regulation of the seasons, as one of the fundamental conditions of an incipient society seems in fact to have been so intimately connected with the worship of the gods as the guardians of the seasons and the protectors of law and order, that it is sometimes difficult to say whether in their sacrifices, the maintenance of their calendar or the maintenance of the worship of their gods was more prominent in the minds of the old Vedic priests". (Max-Muller, India). The Pravargya ritual illustrates the foregoing remarks of Dr. Max-Muller as if they had a direct reference to it.

3. The details of the Pravargya legend reveal its primary significance. Desirous of glory all the gods (except the Aśvins) attended a sacrifice held at Kurukshetra. They came to an agreement among themselves that to whomsoever among them the glory accrued, it was to be common to them all. Glory came to one of them called Makha Vaishṇava. Unwilling to share it

1. Max-Muller: Chips from a German Workshop, Vol. iv, p. 347-48.
2. Max-Muller: Introduction Vol. iv, Rig-veda.
3. Ball: Story of the heavens, p. 4; Avesta Tir Yasht; The Burden of Isis Translated by Dennis.
4. Tait. Brāhmaṇa, I-5-2.

with others, Makha departed with it. The other gods followed him in order to wrest the glory from him. He had a bow and three arrows with him, whereas the others had neither, and were, therefore, helpless against him. He stood smiling at them as they surrounded him. One end of the bow was pressed on the ground while his head rested on the other. As he kept smiling at them his strength slowly left him. The ants called Upadikas (vamri) offered to help the gods if they were granted a special boon. The gods agreed and the ants were thenceforth able to find water even in a desert because water is an indispensable ingredient of all food. The ants went up to Makha and gnawed off the bow-string. The ends of the bow sprang asunder and cut off the head of Makha. It travelled through heaven and earth and fell down with the sound Ghrin. From its so travelling it got its name Pravargya. From the sound it made, Gharma obtained its name. Because strength of the mighty one was dissipated, the Mahavira pot was so named. As the vital sap that was split on the ground was gathered together again (sambharan), the Pravargya became a samrāt. The body of Makha fell prostrate on the ground, with the top towards the east. The gods divided the body into three parts. Agni took the morning oblation ; Indra the mid-day oblation ; the Viśve-devas the third oblation. But sacrificing with this headless sacrifice, they the gods, neither obtained blessings nor conquered heaven. So they sought the help of the Aśvins. The Aśvins, who are the physicians of the gods, agreed to restore the head if they were also granted a libation at the sacrifice. The gods consented and the Aśvins restored the head. The gods thereupon obtained blessings and reached heaven. *This Pravargya is principally Efficacious through Texts Addressed to the Aśvins.*" The above is the version of the legend as given in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.[1] The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa version adds a few details. It gives the names of the gods who attended the sacrifice. They were Agni, Soma, Indra, Viśve-devas, Makha, and Viṣṇu. There is the specific mention that the Aśvins were absent at the original sacrifice. It was Viṣnu whose other name was Makha that obtained the glory and lost his head. When his body fell down, Indra rushed up to it, and embraced it and absorbed all the glory into himself.

1. Tait. Aranyaka, v. 1-1 (Prap. viii).

He thus acquired the mystic title Makha-van or Magha-van. The Aśvins who had learnt the art from the Rishi Dadhaunch, replaced the head. What they had learnt was the Pravargya rite, or Madhu-vidyā.[1] The Pancavimśa Brāhmaṇa gives a slightly different list of the gods. They were only four—Agni, Indra, Vāyu, and Makha. It is Makha who loses his head. When men offer the Pravargya, they replace the head of Makha.

4. As is usual with them, the language used in the legends is figurative and technical. According to the Nirukta, the terms Makha and Vishṇu are synonyms of the word Yajña or sacrifice.[2] Similarly the term Yajña is employed to denote the Sacrificial Year.[3] The head of Makha has, therefore, got to be interpreted as the starting-point of the Sacrificial Year. It was the custom of the Vedic Aryans, as well as many other ancient nations, to commence the sacrificial year at an Equinox or a Solstice. The Jews commenced their year at the autumn equinox. The ancient Persians originally began their year at the autumn equinox, later on at the summer solstice and now at the vernal equinox, probably following the changes of the season marked by the rising of Tistrya or Sirius.[4] A similar shift can be traced in India also. Whatever it may be in the case of other nations, there is ample evidence in the Vedas that the year-long sacrifices commence at a solstice or an equinox.[5] The statement that Makha's head was cut off is the Vedic way of indicating the shift of the New year day (Ushas). The Vedic Aryans denoted a nakshatra by the name of the deity presiding over it. The gods mentioned in the story as desirous of glory represent the nakshatras that competed for the honours of the New year day. Their agreement to share the glory equally means that they should mark the equinoxes and the solstices or the seasonal divisions of the year. Accordingly the Pancavimśa Brāhmaṇa mentions only four gods. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa list includes all those nakshatras through which the equinoxial and solsticial colures passed during the long period covered by the story.

1. Śata. Brāhm. xiv. 1-1.
2. Yāska-Nighantu, iii. 17–1–11; Rig-veda i. 6–8, Sāyaṇa's comment.
3. Śata. Brāhm. xiv. 3–2–16; xi. 2–6–11.
4. M. M. Murzban: History of the Parsees, Vol. 2, pp. 356 etc.
5. Tait. Samh. vi. 4–8; Rig-veda, vii. 103–7.

5. Precession is a slow process and takes place at the rate of one degree per every 72 to 80 years. It was about one degree per 78 years about 4,000 B. C. In other words the equinox or solstice falls one day earlier in the solar year after every 78 years. Expressed in terms of nakshatras, the average rate of precession is through one nakshatra in every thousand years, or by one month in 2,300 years. The meaning of the verb Makh is—to go or to creep. If it is permissible to derive the noun Makha from that verb, Makha would imply an individual that creeps away silently like a thief, in conformity with the role assigned to Makha in the legend. The choice of the word Makha to express the idea of precession would be appropriate and happy, whether the Vedic seer meant it or not. It is my belief that the legend originated when the Vedic astronomer suddenly discovered that the seasons had fallen back by about a month from the traditional date. At the present time the Rathasapthami festival commemorates the occurrence of the winter solstice or Uttarayana eight days prior to the full-moon in Magha nakshatra,—which event occurred about 2,500 B.C. Even though the solstices have receded to the 22nd December and 21st June respectively. The Uttarāyana and Dakshiṇayana feasts are observed on the 14th January and 14th July. Some such glaring discrepancy between custom and astronomical observation must have led the Vedic priests to re-adjust their sacrificial calendar. The Pravargya ritual commemorated this reform.

6. The statement that the Aśvins restored the head of the Sacrifice is highly significant. In plain language, it means that the reformers of the calendar noticed one of the colures passing through the nakshatra Aśvini. The question to be resolved is whether it was a solstice or an equinox that was marked by the Aśvins. If it was the vernal equinox, the date of the Pravargya legend should be later than 400 B. C., because it was from that date the vernal equinox commenced its incidence in Aśvini, and continued to do so till about 500 A. D. till it receded into Revati. The Pravargya event was anterior to the Rig-veda, and the Rig-veda itself is certainly more ancient than 400 B. C. So it cannot be the vernal equinox that the Aśvins indicated. The next previous event connected with the Aśvins was the winter solstice

in Aśvini. At the then rate of precession the winter solstice commenced to occur in Aśvini at about 7,000 B. C. and receded into Revati at about 6,000 B. C. The reform in the calendar implicit in the Pravargya legend should have taken place during this epoch. There are other evidences that support this reference. The Egyptian calendar seems to have been formulated at about the same date judging by the importance attached to the constellation Aries.

7. The equation of Makha to Viṣṇu suggests that at the beginning of what may be called the Pravargya epoch, the two nakshatras Śravaṇa and Makha or Maghas both lay on the same colure. This is rigorously correct on the Garga and Jaina systems of unequal spacing of the nakshatras and approximately true on the equal-spaced system. Considering that at that early formative period of Vedic Astronomy the division of the lunar zodiac would naturally have been more of a qualitative than of a quantitative character, and that the fixed stars served the purpose of boundary marks to distinguish the lunar fields, the correspondence is close enough. Nothing more need be pre-supposed than the ability to ascertain the position of the sun among the stars on the longest and the shortest days of the year. The mid-points of the intervals would automatically mark the equinoxes. A reference to the Table of Precession appended to this article wil show that when the equinoxial colure passed through Śravaṇa and Makha, the solstitial colure lay in the Vishākhās and the Krittikās. The presence, at the original sacrifice, of the gods Agni (Krittikas), Vishṇu (Śravaṇa) and the Makha (Maghas) is easily accounted for. The other candidates who aspired for the glory were Soma (the full-moon represented by Vishākhā), Vayu (Svāti), Indra (Citrā) and the Viśve-devas (Uttaraṣāḍās).[1] At the end of the peoch, the equinoxial colure passed through the junction of Punarvasu and Pushya at the vernal equinox and the Uttarashadas at the autumnal equinox. The summer solstice was in Citrā and the winter solstice in Aśvini. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa statement that Indra rushed up to the body of Makha and absorbed the glory is explained by the incidence of the

1. Tait. Brāhm. iii. 1-1.

summer solstice in Citrā.[1] The occurrence of the winter solstice in Aśvini is alluded to in the Mahābhārata version of the Cyavana legend where Indra is said to have objected to the honour of a special libation being extended to the Aśvins as a mark of gratitude for their restoring the head of the sacrifice and was compelled into submission by Chyavana.[2] It might also represent the protest of a rival section against the shifting of the New-year day from the summer to the winter solstice or vice versa, according to the convention adopted by which the nakshatra Aśvini indicated either the sun's nakshatra or the full-moon nakshatra.

8. I shall next try to point out how some of the constituents of the Pravargya ceremony symbolise the precession of the vernal equinox from Makha to Punarvasu, and how the emphasis was shifted from the equinox in Punarvasu to the solstice in Aśvini.

In consonance with its present role of a preliminary purification ceremony, the Pravargya ritual consists in the preparation of a sweet hot drink, Gharma, in a specially made clay-pot' the Mahavira. The clay pot anointed on the inside with ghee is heated to a red glow resembling the sun. A mixture of cow's milk and goat's milk is poured into it. The resulting liquid, Gharma or Madhu, is offered as oblations to several gods and the residue is drunk by the sacrificer and his associates. The sacrificer thereby purifies himself and acquires divine lustre for himself. Among the gods thus propitiated are Brahmaṇaspati (Pushya), with Sarasvati, Indra (Citrā), the Aśvins, Yama (Bharani), Vāyu (Svāti), Tvastri (Citrā), Aditi (Punarvasu), the seasons and the directions. It should be noticed that these gods represent those nakshatras through which the colures passed during the Pravargya epoch. The materials used in the making of the clay-pot are 1. Potter's clay. 2. The porous earth of an ant-hill ; (valmika-vapa). 3. Earth turned up by a boar. 4. Adar and putika twigs for feeding the fire. 5. Goat's milk for cooling the pot after it is baked. The formula : For Makha thee ; For Makha's Head Thee ;—is frequently employed. The porous earth of the ant-hill suggests the nakshatra Āśleṣā whose

1. Śata. Brāhm. xiv. 1-1.
2. Muir. Vol. v, p. 254 ; Mahābhārata Vanaparva: Chyavana Legend.

deity is the Solar Serpent. The earth cast up by a boar refers to Monoceros.

The goat's milk is reminiscent of Pūṣan the deity of Revati. There are three stages in the precession of the vernal equinox: From Makha to Punarvasu. 1. Āśleṣā; 2. Puṣya; 3. Punarvasu. These correspond to the three arrows carried by Makha. The bow is the portion of the ecliptic between the two equinoxes. Between two equinoxes the sun will be either north or south of the equator, and the sun's path may be pictured as a curve. The equator would then serve as a string. At any rate the ecliptic and the equator resemble a bow and its string, between themselves. Picture to yourself Makha's head resting on the end of the bow in Maghas or Makha. The ants from the ant-hill in Aśleṣā cut off the string. The head is severed, bounds up, travels over Āśleṣā and Puṣya and falls on the earth in Punarvasu by the side of the Bee-hive pond in Puṣya near the ancient home of the Aśvins. It is immaterial for our purpose whether the Aśvins were autochthonous in Puṣya or Aśvini. It is enough if we note that the horse's head that they fixed on Dadhaunch is now to be found in Aries, and that they exercised the art they had learnt on Makha's head, and renovated it by means of a secret concoction prepared over the Bee-hive in Puṣya. Puṣya and its neighbours furnished the necessary materials.

9. In his paper contributed to the ninth Oriental Congress at London Lok. B. G. Tilak pointed out that the characteristic attributes of the Aśvins suggest that originally they should have been associated with the Puṣya asterism, and at some time later on their overlordship must have been transferred to the star group in Aries. The Puṣya asterism is noted for the group of stars called the Bee-hive (Praesepe) which is flanked on either side by the two stars known as the Asses. In Hindu astronomy the Bee-hive group is known as Madhukasa.[1] The two stars are called Khara and Gardhaba. While delta Cancri the yoga-tara is called Sumitra. Alpa cancri is Tomara. The two asses and delta cancri constitute the arrow which is the astronomical symbol of

1. Vader's article in Report of Fourth Oriental Conference 1926. Vol. I, p. 98, Kalidas Mukharjee's Atlas of Hindu Astronomy.

Puṣya. Here we have in Puṣya the reservoir of honey which the Aśvins love, their mounts the two asses, and the three-jointed arrow which serves as a whip or goad. The Aśvins themselves have their starry counterparts, the Gemini twins. They are known also as the sons of Rudra (Rig-veda X—61-4 to 7) in Ārdrā. The Pravargya function is an imitation of the process adopted by the Aśvins to renovate Makha's head. The Gharma is the honey; the Mahavira pot represents the Bee-hive; the platform on which the Mahāvira rests is known as the khara, the sacrificial counterpart of the celestial asses. The Aśvins are the divine Adhvaryus. The parallelism is complete. The vernal equinox that disappeared from Makha has been located in Puṣya.

10. There is one other legend which has a direct bearing on the Pravargya tradition. The Taittiriya Samhitā tells us that the sacrifice assuming the form of Viṣṇu, disappeared from among the gods and entered into earth. The gods joined hands and searched for him. Indra passed right above him. Viṣṇu accosts Indra and a conversation ensues. Indra learns that the boar that had plundered the wealth of the sacrifice was mounting guard over the treasures kept on the other side of seven hills. If Indra would kill the boar, Viṣṇu would recover the treasure. Indra plucked up a bunch of kuṣa grass, pierced through the seven hills, and slew the boar. Viṣṇu brought away the treasure. The same story is referred to in the Rig-veda also.[1] Indra stationed in Chitrā discovers Viṣṇu right below him in Aries (Aśvini) The boar Monoceros guards the wealth of the sacrifice at the junction of Punarvasu and Ārdrā which is seven nakshatras away from both Aśvini and Chitrā. The nakshatras are the intervening hills. Indra in Chitrā kills the boar; Viṣṇu in Aries recovers the treasure and gives it to the custody of the Ashvins. Makha's head is transferred to Aries.

11. Like the Pravargya legend, the story of Indra, Viṣṇu and the boar is older than the Rig-veda. The two legends may be different versions of the same event. Seven nakshatras represent the interval between a solstice and an equinox. The transfer of the sacrificial treasure from Monoceros to Aries might very well indicate the shift of the New-year day from the

1. R. V. i. 161-13; iv. 33-7.

equinox to the solstice. Along with the new year day the Aśvins also shifted their habitation finally to Aries. Tilak's guess (vide para 9) is justified. It must be noted that the Vedic months began at the full-moon. The full-moon in Makha and Aśvini would, therefore, indicate the autumn equinox and the summer solstice. The Frog Hymn (Rig. vii. 103-7) places the New-year day at the commencement of the rainy season. In Bokhara and generally in Central Asia the rains commence at the autumn equinox. In India they commence at the summer solstice. The shift of the New-year day from equinox to solstice probably corresponds to the migration from Central Asia to India.

12. The Rig-vedic verse on which Lok. Tilak based his Orion admits of a different inter-pretation. The Ribhus, who had slept away for twelve days in the house of Agohya the Sun wake up and enquire who had disturbed their sleep. The reply is enigmatic. According to Sāyaṇa, the sun replies that it was the Wind (Vāyu), because it was New-year day. The sun had been in Hasta when the Ribhus went to sleep: he was in Svāti when they woke up.[1] It was the rainsy season. So the sun was near the summer solstice. The summer solstice occurred in Svāti at about 7,000 B.C. Even if we interpret in the usual way, the dog indicated would be the Cannes Venatici of European astronomy situated to the north of Chitrā. It is identical with the divine dog in Chitrā into which one of the Kalakunjas was transformed (Tait. Brāhm. i. i. 2.) The reply was given by the goat. It was Pūṣan's goat in Revati. About 6,000 B. C. the solstitial colure passed through Chitrā and Revati-Aśvini junction.

13. I shall adduce one more evidence and conclude. According to the Taittiriya samhitā, while laying down the nakshatrabricks round the fire-altar. one should commence with the Krittikās-brick. It should be laid in the south-east corner[2] The Viśākās would point north-west. The other stars would be found in their natural order on the circle or boundary. The

1. R. V. I-161-13; IV-33-7; Bundahis XIV-28.

2. Tait. Samh. iv. 4-10; Sāyaṇas comment; Keith's Translation pp. 349.

place assigned to the Krittikās is highly significant. It meant that some other star indicated the east at the time. (It was about three and a half nakshatras away from the east that Krittikās was situated.) The Punarvasu asterism would mark the east. In other words the vernal equinox was in Punarvasu at the time. The date was about 6,500 B. C. and in close accordance with that given by the Pravargya legend. The convention adopted was a simple device. The Krittikās were assigned a place at the south-east, because it was the sun's nakshatra when he was mid-way in time between the winter solstice and the vernal equinox. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa belongs to the period when the sun's nakshatra was the Krittikās at the time of the vernal equinox. Observations of the sun and moon at the time of the full-moon and new-moon sacrifices and on the longest and the shortest days of the year as indicated by the simple sun-dial furnished all the data required. The arrangements of the nakshatras in a circle was designed to indicate intervals of time. It had no necessary connection with their actual positions north or south of the equator.

14. Like all other nations of antiquity, the Vedic Aryans were keen observers of the heavens. They have recorded their findings in the various legends that have come down to us. They are not mere stories made up to please children, though they serve that purpose also admirably. They are so many attractive structures raised on a hard sub-stratum of solid facts. Let us not be misled by the uncouth dress they wear. However extravagant the claim may appear to be, they do contain hard incontestable facts discovered when the science of astronomy was yet in its infancy and men had not yet learnt to express themselves with the mathematical precision of modern times. The Vedic seers frequently declare that the gods love mystery ; so they introduced an element of mystery into all that they said or did. Beneath this veil of mystery so sedulously woven round them lie treasures that reveal themselves to those who diligently seek for them. You will find them where you least expect them. The Pravargya legend is one such treasure-trove that takes you back to the dawn of civilisation.

APPENDIX

The Nakṣatra Time table of Precession

(Indicating position of sun)

N. B.—The rate of precession is assumed to be uniform at 72 years per degr or 960 years per nakshatra or 240 years per quarter (pada). The dates tell when the equinoxial colure leaves the nakṣatra in col. 2, whose Yogatara in given in col. 6.

Date of vernal equinox B. C. Date	At Vernal Equinox Sun in 1st pada of	At Summer Solstice Sun in 4th pada of	At Aut Equinox Sun in 3rd pada of	At Winter Solstice Sun in 2nd pada of	Yoga-tara Longi-tude Degrees
1	2	3	4	5	6
25320	Asvini	Punarvasu	Citra	Ut. Ashada	8 Asvini
24360	Revat Ut.	Ardra	Hasta-Ut.	P. Ashadas	0 Revati
23400	Ut. Bhadra	Mrigasira	Ut. Phalguni	Moola	337
22440	P. Bhadra	Rohini	P. Phalguni	Jyesta	326
21480	Shatabhisa	Krittika	Makha	Anuradha	320
20520	Dhanista	Bharani	Aslesa	Vishaka	290
19560	Sravana	Asvini	Pushya	Svati	280
18600	Ut. Ashadas	Revati	Punarvasu	Citra	260
17640	P. Ashadas	Ut. Bhadra	Ardra	Hasta	254
16680	Moola	P. Bhadra	Mrigasira	Ut. Phalguni	241
15720	Jyesta	Shatabhisa	Rohini	P. Phalguni	229
14760	Anuradha	Dhanista	Krittikas	Makha	224
13800	Vishaka	Sravana	Bharani	Aslesa	213
12840	Svati	Ut. Ashadas	Asvini	Pushya	199
11880	Citra	P. Ashadas	Revati	Punarvasu	180
10920	Hasta	Moola	Ut. Bhadra	Ardra	170
9960	Ut. Phalguni	Jyesta	P. Bhadra	Mrigasira	155
9000	P. Phalguni	Anuradha	Shatabhisa	Rohini	144
8040	Makha	Vishaka	Dhanista	Krittika	129
7080	Aslesa	Svati	Sravana	Bharani	109
6120	Pushya	Citra	Ut. Ashadas	Asvini	106
5160	Punarvasu	Hasta	P. Ashadas	Revati	93
4200	Ardra	Ut. Phalguni	Moola	Ut. Bhadra	67
3240	Mrigasira	P. Phalguni	Jyesta	P. Bhadra	63
2280	Rohini	Makha	Anuradha	Shatabhisa	50
1320	Krittikas	Aslesa	Vishaka	Dhanista	38
360	Bharani	Pushya	Svati	Sravana	20
A. D. 540*	Asvini	Punarvasu	Citra	Ut. Ashadas	8
1500*	Revati	Ardra	Hasta	P. Ashadas	0
2000*	Ut. Bhadra[3]	Ardra[2]	Hasta[1]	P. Ashadas[0]	337
	Vernal equinox Nakshatras	Summer solstice Nakshatras	Autumnal equinox Nakshatras	Winter solstice Nakshatras	Equinox Nakshatra Yoga-taras

THE SAMBANDHA-NIRṆAYA OF GOPĀLA NYĀYA-PAÑCĀNANA

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Introduction

The *Sambandha-nirṇaya* is written by one Gopāla of whom we know practically nothing beyond the fact that in his works he is often styled as Mahāmahopādhyāya and Nyāyapañcānana. He must, however, be distinguished from that Gopāla Nyayapañcānana whom Kane mentions as the author of a book entitled *Sadācāra-saṅgraha.*

From the large number of manuscripts of his works available to us he appears to have written over a dozen treatises traversing almost the same field as Raghunandana did. The names of his books have the ending *nirṇaya* just as those of Raghunandana's end in *tattva.* A perusal of his works leads one to presume that his business was to explain Raghunandana's learned works in a much more popular way, thus rendering them accessible to the mass. He may be regarded as a teacher of *Smṛti* who recorded his own methods of teaching Raghunandana's works. The presence of a large number of manuscripts of his works is an indication of his popularity with the lay public of the then Bengal.

That he was a Bengali cannot reasonably be doubted; otherwise he would not have perhaps bothered himself so much about the customs of marriage in vogue in Bengal. The period of his activities cannot be ascertained with any degree of precision. One of the earliest Mss. of the *Sambandha-nirṇaya*, preserved in the Dacca University collections, is dated Śaka 1593 or A. D. 1671. It is, therefore, probable that the book was composed about the middle of the 17th century; because a book must take at least a quarter of a century in order to be popular enough to be copied extensively throughout a country or a province. If this be accepted as the date of composition of this book we may safely fix the birth-time of the author at least towards the close of the 16th century, if not earlier; for normally an author becomes widely known at the ripe age of sixty or seventy. Kane is, however, inclined to place Gopāla between 1570 and 1620.

This almost coincides with the period we have attempted to determine above. Anyway, the author may be called an immediate successor to Raghunandana in the field of the *Nibandha* literature of Bengal.

The *Sambandha-nirṇaya* is a work on *Vivāha*. Written in a simple and racy style the book does not pretend to supersede any of its renowned predecessors. After the salutation verse, which may be an interpolation, the book starts with the definition of the five kinds of relationships, viz., *Sapiṇḍa*, *Samānodaka*, *Sagotra*, *Samāna-pravara* and *Bāndhava*. *Sapiṇḍatā* extends up to the seventh generation beyond which arises *Samānodakatā*. For purposes of marriage the daughters of each of the six paternal *Sapiṇḍas* up to the seventh degree, and also those of the four maternal *Sapiṇḍas* up to the fifth degree are excluded. If, however, any of these girls be removed (by marriage) from the original stock by three gotras she will be eligible for marriage.[1]

Gotra is the earliest traceable *Brahmaṇa* from whom a family descends.[2] *Pravara* is the association of particular sages which serves to distinguish one gotra from another,[3] e.g., the *Bharadvāja Gotra* of five *Pravaras* is different from the same gotra of three pravaras. Two persons are said to be *Samāna-pravara* when they have exactly the same number and designation of *Pravaras*. The lower castes have no independent *Gotra* and *Pravara* of their own but have those of the priest appointed by their earliest traceable ancestors.

As regards *Bāndhavas* there are three classes of them, viz.,

A. *Pitṛ-bāndhava* :—

1. Father's father's sister's son. 2. Father's mother's sister's son. 3. Father's mother's brother's son.

B. *Mātṛ-bāndhava* :—

1. Mother's mother's sister's son. 2. Mother's father's sister's son. 3. Mother's mother's brother's son.

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1. सन्निकर्षेऽपि कर्तव्यं त्रिगोत्रात् परतो यदि ।
2. गोत्रं तु वंशपरंपराप्रसिद्धमादिपुरुषब्राह्मणरूपम् ।
3. प्रवरस्तु गोत्रप्रवर्तकस्य मुनेर्व्यावर्तको मुनिगणः ।

C. *Ātma-bāndhava* :—

1. Father's sister's son. 2. Mother's sister's son. 3. Mother's brother's son.

For purposes of marriage daughters of any of the *Pitṛ-bāndhavas* and *Matṛ-bāndhavas* up to the seventh and fifth degrees respectively are excluded.

Marriage has been defined by *Gopāla* as the acceptance of the bride by the groom after she has been properly offered by her father or by anyone else entitled to give her away.[1] The usual eight forms of marriage are recognised and described according to Yājñavalkya.

The following relations of a girl are entitled to give her away in marriage :—

1. Father. 2. Grand-father. 3. Brother. 4. Anyone in the paternal line. 5. Maternal grand-father. 6. Maternal uncle. 7. Mother.

In this list each preceding person is preferable to each succeeding one. The principal condition is that these persons must be free from apostacy and disease before they can lawfully give her away in marriage. In the absence of all of them a girl shall offer herself to a person having requisite qualifications to marry her.

Besides being a sacrament the Hindu marriage is also a contract, and both the parties are bound by certain contractual obligations. A girl can be betrothed but once, and anyone refusing to marry her to the person to whom she is betrothed shall have to undergo the punishment deserved by thieves besides being compelled to make good with interest the loss sustained by the bridegroom after betrothal. This rule may, however, be violated with impunity provided a more desirble bridegroom is available after the first bethrothal. In the event of the death of a betrothed girl the person to whom she was betrothed shall take back whatever he gave her after, of course, making some allowance for the costs incurred by the bride's father after betrothal.

In the actual ceremony of marriage the offerer of the girl and the offeree should face westwards and eastwards respectively

1. पित्रादिकर्तृककन्योत्सर्गानन्तरं वरस्वीकारो विवाहः ।

although a different arrangement is enjoined in the case of other kinds of gifts. It is interesting to note that now-a-days in Bengal the offerer and the offeree face north-wards and eastwards respectively. In the ceremony the giver should make the gift of the girl after mentioning the names and *Gotras* of the three male ancestors both of the bride and of the groom.

The bride should have the following qualifications :—

1. Not married to or enjoyed by any other person (अनन्य-पूर्विका) 2. Possessing a charming appearance 3. Must not be a *Sapiṇḍa* of the bridegroom 4. Must be free from disease 5. Must have a brother or brothers 6. Must have *Gotra* and pravara different from those of the bridegroom.

The last item need not be considered in the case of *Śūdras*. Among the three higher castes the violation of this rule is a serious offence necessitating the abandonment of the wife in addition to the performance of the rigorous vow of Cāndrāyaṇa by the husband. A person cannot marry a girl having his mother's name as also daughters of his preceptor and of his step-mother's brother. A girl is called *Paunarbhava* if she is married twice or is betrothed to one and married to another. There are seven kinds of *Paunarbhava* girls each of whom is strictly excluded from marriage. Their daughters are also disqualified brides.

There is a reference to an interesting form of polygamy prevalent in ancient times although it seems repugnant to modern taste and ideas. It is enjoined that a person having three wives all of whom are surviving shall have to take a fourth wife.

The marriage of the younger brother while the elder is yet unmarried is condemned though such a supersession is allowed under certain conditions, e.g., when the elder brother is impotent, an idiot, or is away in a foreign land, etc.

Acceptance of dowry or *Śulka* by the bride's father is condemned except when it is taken for the interest of the daughter and not of his own.

The marriage ceremony should take place in a solar month though Śrinātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi expresses his views to the contrary. For marriage the two months of Caitra and Pouṣa are particularly prohibited.

Among his predecessors in Bengal *Smṛti* Gopāla mentions Śūlapāṇi, Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi by name while he refers to Raghunandana as Smārta—an epithet by which he is known throughout Bengal. As already pointed out Gopāla does not make any substantial improvement on Raghunandana and the *Sambandha-nirṇaya* is nothing but the *Udvāha-tattva* of Raghunandana made easy. That he closely followed his immediate predecessor is very aptly described by the post-colophon statement of MS. B which contains the following line :—सम्बन्धोऽयं गोपालेन कृतः स्मार्तस्य वर्त्मना, and this was perhaps the highest tribute that could be paid in early days by a Bengali to a successor of Raghunandana in Bengal *Smṛti*. Of the *Dharmaśāstrakārars* the author frequently mentions *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya*, *Nārada*, *Kātyāyana*, *Vaśiṣṭha* and *Viṣṇu*, to mention only the more important ones.

The following text has been prepared by a collation of the three MSS. out of four preserved in Dacca University. The fourth one is a palm-leaf MS. which is too damaged and soiled to be of any practical use.

DESCRIPTION OF MSS. AND ABBREVIATIONS

A—Dacca University paper MS. No. 2056C

Size : 19″ × 3½″.

Folio : 1–12 marked on the left side and 58–69 on the right. Complete. Five lines to a page except fol. 12b which contains 6 lines.

Material : Brown Indian paper.

Characters : Bengali. Contains occasional marginal notes.

Beginning : ॐ नमः श्रीकृष्णाय। श्रीकृष्णचरणाम्भोज etc.

End : कृतकौतुकमङ्गला वद्धकङ्कनाः।

Colophon : इति गोपालपञ्चाननभट्टाचार्यविरचितं सम्बन्धनिर्णयं समाप्तम्।

Date and Scribe :—?

B—Dacca University paper MS. No. 129H

Size : 14″ × 2¾″.

Folio : 1–6 or 17–22. Complete. 7–12 or 23–28 contains the Aśauca-nirṇaya of the same author. 7 lines to a page on an average.

Material : Brown Indian paper ; damp-soiled.

Characters : Bengali. Frequent marginal corrections.

Beginning : ॐ नमो भवान्यै । अथ सम्बन्धनिर्णयः ।

End : As in A.

Colophon : इति महामहोपाध्यायगोपालपञ्चाननभट्टाचार्यविरचितः सम्बन्धनिर्णयः समाप्तः ।

Post-colophon : सुम्बन्धीऽयं गोपालेन कृतः स्मार्तस्य वर्त्मना श्रीवनमालिशर्मणः पुस्तकमिति दिक् ।

Scribe : Vanamālī Śarmā.

Date :—?

C—Dacca University paper MS. No. 2138G

Size : 14 × 2½".

Folio : 1–9. Complete. There are fragments of other Mss. at the end. 7 lines to a page.

Material : Brown country paper ; rotten.

Characters : Bengali. Abounds in marginal corrections.

Beginning : ॐ नमो गणेशाय । श्रीकृष्णचरणाम्भोज etc.

End : As in A.

Colopnon : समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः । इति सम्बन्धनिर्णयः समाप्तः ।

Post-Colophone : श्रीरामचन्द्राय नमः । यथा दृष्टमित्यादि । श्रीरामनाथशर्मणा लिखितं पुस्तकं स्यार्थहेतुकमिति ? । ......स्तब्धदृष्टिरधोमुखः यत्नेन लिखितं पुस्तकं पुत्रवत् परिपालयेत । श्रीदुर्गायै नमः । श्रीगोपालाय नमः ।

Scribe : Rāmanātha Śarmā

Date : Śaka 1593 (cirka A.D. 1671).

N.M.—Nirṇayasāgara Press Ed. of the Manu-Saṃhitā

Ny— „ „ „ Yājñavalkya-Saṃhitā

CHRONOLOGY OF KALI DYNASTIES

D. R. Mankad

Most of the scholars to-day are sceptic about the evidence furnished by Purāṇas regarding ancient Indian history and chronology. On examining the various genealogies of the Purāṇas, they find that Purāṇas often furnish conflicting or confusing evidence. "Very often they corrupt names of persons; sometimes one dynasty is mingled or interwoven into or tacked on to another; sometimes collateral successions are described as lineal; even divergent synchronisms have been recorded." This complaint is perfectly true. But I, here, wish to show that these confusions and contradictions, where not caused by corrupt readings, were deliberately made with a view to follow a peculiar system of chronological computations. Elsewhere[1] I have designated this peculiar system as 'The Manvantara-Caturyuga Method', and explained in details how it was used for longer chronological computations. As I have shown there, they took a unit of 40 years (called Caturyuga or Yugākhyā) and in a given dynasty they kept as many king-names as the units of 40 year were required. If a dynasty lasted for 200 years and even if during these 200 years there ruled 10 kings of that dynasty, they kept only five king-names and omitted others, for they required 5 units of 40 years each for these 200 years. Thus in our Puranic genealogical tables, the kings who are enumerated are, really speaking, king-units or regnal units of 40 years each.

Results of such an arbitrary method are obvious. For instance, when Vyāsa re-adjusted the chronology of Solar and Lunar dynasties in the Mbh. days, he had to account for, according to my showing, 2,800 or 2,840 years. For these years he would require 70 or 71 king-units. He was following the Ayodhyā line. Now if in the direct Solar line from Manu downwards, names of 70 or 71 consecutive descendents or successors were not available, he would, in order to give 70 or 71 names, merge, interweave or tack on another dynasty or another collateral branch. This,

1. See my paper on 'The Manvantara-Caturyuga Method' in 'The Silver Jubilee Volume of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.'

at any rate, seems to have been the usual device resorted to in the Purāṇas.

I have shown that, according to this method, there had been 71 Caturyugas or king-units upto the Mbh. war. Thus Yudhiṣṭhira was 70th, Abhimanyu 71st and Parikṣit 72nd king-unit in the Lunar line. Similarly in the Solar line Bṛhadbala was 71st[1] and Bṛhatkṣaya was 72nd, and in the Magadha line Jarāsandha was 70th, Sahadeva 71st and Somādhi (with whom our Kali-dynasties begin) 72nd. Therefore, according to this method, from Vaivasvata Manu to Sahadeva (both including) there had elapsed 71 × 40 = 2,840 years. This period of 70 or 71 king-units and 2,800 or 2,840 years they called a Manvantara and they took a Manvantara as closed at the expiry of 70th or 71st king-unit. Again I have shown that upto Sumitra and Kṣemaka, the so-called last kings of the Solar and the Lunar dynasties, there had been 100 king-units, these two being the 100th units and thus there had elapsed 100 × 40 = 4,000 years or to be strict 3,990 years from Manu to Sumitra. I have also shown that these 4,000 years were taken as completing four bigger Yugas, each Yuga being taken to have 1,000 years.[2] Thus Dvāpara was over with the 75th king-unit or just before the 76th king-unit, which is taken as 'sāmprata' unit by our Purāṇas, and Kali was over with the 100th king-unit i. e. with Sumitra. But though Dvāpara closed with the 75th king-unit, Manvantara had closed with the 70th unit and therefore in order to coincide the close of Yuga with that of Manvantara, Purāṇakāras pushed back the close of Dvāpara by 200 years and took it as closed with the 70th unit. Thus Kali which had, at first, only 1,000 years (from 75th to 100th) came to have 1,200 years (from 71st unit to the 100th unit). And, in order to make this amended Yuga-system uniform they added 800 years to pre-Mbh. period from Manu to Yudhiṣṭhira. Therefore Yudhiṣṭhira's number, which was 70th at first, was made 90th and Bṛhadbala's number, which was 71st at first was made 91st. Thus 3,640 years

1. See my paper on 'The Pre-Mahābhārata Solar Dynasty' in Bhāratīya Vidyā Vol. III Part II

2. See my paper on 'The Yugas' in Poona Orientalist, Vol. vi, Nos. 3 & 4.

(91 × 40 = 3,640) were taken as passed, though in reality only 2,840 years had passed before Samādhi, whose original number was 72nd but whose adjusted number became 92nd now. Sumitra's (and also Kṣemaka's) number, which was 100th at first, now became 120th. Thus from Manu to Sumitra 4,800 (or strictly 4,790) years were taken as passed, though in reality only 3,990 years had passed.

I have also shown that the statement of Megasthenes that from Bachhus (Manu) to Alexander (325 B.C.), 6,451 years and 153 kings had passed, is correct to a letter according to our Purāṇas. Accordingly Manu's date will be 6,451 + 325 = 6,776 B.C. But as the adjustment of 800 years was made before the days of Megasthenes, Manu's real date will be 6,776 − 800 = 5,976 B.C.

In this connection of Manvantara-Caturyuga Method, I have examined in my previous papers the pre-Mbh. Solar dynasty as also the post-Mbh. Solar and Lunar dynasties upto Sumitra and Kṣemaka and shown how they originally stood and how they stand now, applying the test of Manvantara-Caturyuga Method. Here I shall apply this test to the Post-Mahābhāratā Magadha dynasties upto the rise of the Guptas and show how absolutely trustworthy is the Puranic treatment of the dynasties.

But before we examine this test let us, here, do some thinking and some calculations.

As every student of our ancient history knows, there are four dates very important for our Puranic chronology—*viz.* (1) the date of the commencement of Kali, (2) date of the Mahābhārata war, (3) dates of the deaths of Yudiṣṭhira and Kṛṣṇa, and (4) the date of Parikṣit's birth. (This last is important because he was a contemporary of Somādhi of the Magadha line, from whom all our Kali chronology starts.) I must make it clear that all our history and chronology is misunderstood and misconstructed at present, because of the very complicated confusion which had arisen about these four dates, which have become the starting-points of various calculations.

Let us see what were the real dates of these events. I have taken Manu's date to be 5,976 B.C. Therefore the death of Yudhiṣṭhira, who was 70th, according to Caturyuga calculation,

will be in 5,976 – (70 × 40) 2,800 = 3,176 B. C. Now Mahābhārata war was some 25 or 26 years earlier than Yudhiṣṭhira's death. Therefore the date of the war was 3,176 + 25 = 3201 B. C. Again Parikṣit was conceived during the days of the war, therefore the date of his birth was also 3,201 B. C. And taking 5,976 B. C. as the date of Manu with whom the Kṛta yuga started, we get 5,976 – 3,000 = 2,976 B. C. as the date of the end of Dvāpara and of the beginning of Kali. Therefore the real dates of

Kali-start was 2,976 B. C.
Mbh war was 3,201 B. C.
Y's death was 3,176 B. C.
P's birth was 3,201 B. C.

These are the real dates of these incidents, but later there arose a confusion about the start of Kali. It was sometimes believed that Kali started with the Mbh. war and sometimes that it started with Y's and K's death. Again P's birth was always associated with the Mbh. war. Therefore any of these four dates may be mistaken for any of these four events. Thus each of these events may have four dates.

But the confusion has not ended here. As we have already seen, the beginning of Kali was pushed back by 200 years.[1] Therefore Kali's beginning was taken from 2,976 B.C. to 3,176 B.C. Thus we get three beginnings of Kali :

The one that started in 2,976 B. C. was real.
The one that started in 3,176 B. C. was amended.
The one that started in 3,201 B. C. was misunderstood.

1. The period of 200 years from 3,176 B. C. to 2,976 B. C. should be properly understood. Really speaking these were the last 200 years of Dvāpara (of 1,000 years), but according to the amended Yuga-system they were the first two hundred years of Kali-yuga (of 1,200 years). Thus the period of these two hundred years is a period of overlapping yugas. That is why the Purāṇas expressly declare that it is impossible to separate द्वापर and कलि युगपंत्समवेतौ तौ द्विधा वक्तुं न शक्यते. (See Mr. 148, 38) Mr. Harit Kṛṣna Deb understands (Proceedings and Trans. of the 1st O. C. Vol. ii p. 351 ff.) this statement in a different sense but it is not correct. His otherwise very admirable paper is completely vitiated by the necessity, to which he is reduced, of finding a correspondence between the end of a Saptarsi century and the 836th year of the Purāṇas. The explanation, which I have given later is far more natural and fits in with the whole ancient chronology.

Now it is also possible that as there was a gap of 200 years between the starts of the real and amended Kalis, so some one may take 3,001 B. C. (3,201 – 200 = 3,001) as the start of Kali, taking a gap of 200 years from 3,201 B. C. Thus there will be so many possible Kali-starts.

B. C. 3,201 } misunderstood		B. C. 3,176 amended
B. C. 300,1 }		B. C. 2,979 real

Again at a later age when these amended 200 years were distributed as sandhyā and sandhyāṁśa, there will be the following starts of Kali possible :

B. C. 3,201, 3,101, 3,001, 3,176, 3,076, 2,976

Therefore any of these dates may be taken as the date of any of the above four events. But the confusion worst confounded follows still.

According to the Manvantra-caturyuga method Yudhiṣṭhira was 70th and Abhimanyu 71st from Manu. Therefore according to this method, Abhimanyu's death will be put in 5,976 – 2,840 = 3,136 B. C. (But we should remember that this method is theortical and likely to be accurate only at certain specific points and was accurate at the time of Yudhiṣṭhira's death.) Now as it was known that Abhimanyu died in the Mbh war and also that Parikṣit was born when Abhimanyu died, therefore this date (3,136) may be taken also as P's birth's date. In fact as we shall see, it is this date 3,136 B. C., which is the starting point of all our Kali chronology. Thus we get two dates for P's birth *viz*. 3,201 B. C. (real) and 3,136 B. C. (theoretical). Adding this date 3,136 B. C. to the above six dates we get seven dates and all these may be confused with one another. Again if this 3,136 B. C. is misunderstood for the date of the Mbh. war and therefore for Kali-start, there may be three more dates for Kali-start, *viz*. 3,136, 3,036, 2,936 B. C. Thus we get three sets for Kali :

B.C. 3,201 (real date for Mbh. & P's birth)	B.C. 3,176 (rerl date of Y's death)	B.C. 3,136 (theoretical date of P
3,101	3,076	3,036
3,001	2,976	2,936

And the most important point for us to remember is this that any of these dates may be taken for any of the above four events *viz.* (1) Kali-start, (2) Mbh. war, (3) Y's death, and (4) P's birth, though their real dates were 2,976, 3,201, 3,176 and 3,201 B. C. respectively.

But we should understand that though there are nine possible dates for Kali-start, there will be only three possible dates for Kali-end :

(1)	3,201	3,101	3,001	(2)	3,176	3,076	2,976	(3)	3,136	3,036	2,936
	1,200	1.100	1,000		1,200	1,100	1,000		1,200	1,100	1,000
	2,001	2,001	2,001		1,976	1,976	1,976		1,936	1,936	1,936

Thus for the close of Kali we shall get three possible dates *viz.* 2,001 B. C., 1,976 B. C. and 1,936 B. C., out of which 1,976 B. C. was the real date of Kali-end.

Now let us understand one more point. Sumitra is put in the fourth Pāda of the 29th Caturyuga of the new Manvantara, therefore of the new Manvantara (which started after Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu), $28 \times 40 = 1120 + 30$ (three padas of 10 years each) $= 1150$ years had passed when Sumitra ruled. But the new Manvantara started with the beginning of the 72nd Caturyuga and our amended Kaliyuga started with the 71st Caturyuga. Therefore, according to this calculation, in Sumitra's day, $1,150 + 40 = 1,190$ years had elapsed from Y's death. Now amended Kali started in 3,176 B. C., therefore Sumitra's time will be $3,176 - 1,190 = 1,986$ B.C. Therefore between the date of Yudhiṣṭhira and Sumitra there will be 1,190 years, between the theoretical date of P's birth (or accession) and Sumitra there will be $3,136 - 1,986 = 1,150$ years and between Mbh. war and Sumitra there will be $3,201 - 1,986 = 1,215$ years.

Now before proceeding further I shall make one point clear. Earlier I have taken a gap of 25 or 26 years between Y's death and Mbh. war *i. e.* I have taken so many years as Y's regnal period. My reason for this is based upon these verses : [1]

पञ्चसप्ततिवर्षाणि प्राक्कलेः सप्त ते द्विजाः ।
मघास्वासन् महाराजे शासत्युर्वीं युधिष्ठिरे ॥

1. As quoted in classical San. Lit., by Krishnamacharya p. ixxviii.

पञ्चविंशतिवर्षेषु गतेष्वथ कलौ युगे
समाश्रयन्त्याश्लेषां मुनयस्ते शतं समाः ।

According to these verses, Saptarṣis were in Maghā for 75 years in Y's time and they would be for 25 years more in Maghā, when they will change the nakṣatra and simultaneously both Yudhiṣṭhira and Kṛṣṇa would die. This division of 75 and 25 years suggests that Yudhiṣṭhira ruled for 25 years, he having been crowned when Saptarṣis had been in Maghā for 75 years.[1]

But we have a tradition that Yudhiṣṭhira ruled for 36 years. How is this? I think that this is due to the confusion of the 10 years of the last pāda of the 29th Caturyuga. The confusion is likely to arise thus. We have seen that Sumitra is placed in 1,986 B. C. and Kali-end (real) is in 1,976 B. C. But if some one mistook 1,986 B. C. as the Kali-end, then he would put Sumitra in 1,996 B. C. Accordingly he would put the date of the Kali-start ten years earlier *i. e.* in 3,211 B. C. and this would bring about a difference of 35 or 36 years between Kali-start or Mbh. war and Y's death. And this may create fresh complications.

I shall now show that these confusions and complications are not of my imagination, but are actually found in some of the Purāṇas. It is true that all these dates may not have started actual confusions, but many of them have. In fact it is due to the want of understanding these possible confusions and the Manvantara-caturyuga Method that all our ancient history and chronology are most sadly wrongly constructed. Our Purāṇas have preserved, very faithfully, the most accurate chronology even to a year. I shall substantiate these remarks, but in so doing I shall have to examine all the Kali dynasties upto the rise of the Guptas, which I proceed to do now.

Let us examine the Maghada dynasty from Somādhi downwards. Just after the war, starts the Bārhadratha dynasty. For this dynasty, Purāṇas give 22 kings in all, though in actually

1. G. H. Ojha in Bhāratīya Prācīna Lipimālā (p. 159–60) notes: कश्मीरवाले इस संवत्का (सप्तर्षि) प्रारम्भ कलियुग के २५ वर्ष पूरे होने पर (२६ वें वर्ष सें) मानते हैं. Here Kali-start is taken from Mbh. war and 25 or 26 years are put between Mbh. war and Saptarṣi–start (*i. e.* their entry in Āśleṣā) or Y's death. This also shows that Y ruled for 26 years.

naming them, the number varies from Purāṇa to Purāṇa. Similarly their total regnal period is given at 1,000 years, though the actual total of individual reigns varies in different Purāṇas. I shall explain these variations later ; just now let us consider certain general matters about this dynasty.

The excellent studies of Prof. Pradhan have conclusively proved the synchronism of Sumitra, Kṣemaka, Viśākhayūpa and Nandhivardhana (Śiśunāga as well as Pradyota Nandhivardhanas, who are shown by him to be identical).[1] Keeping the synchronisms in mind, let us understand the Bārhadratha dynasty. We have seen that both in the Solar and Lunar dynasties, Purāṇas give full 30 kings from the 71st kings *i. e.* from Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu respectively. Therefore the number of Sumitra and Kṣemaka is 100th from Vaivasvata Manu. Now the same system of Manvantara–caturyuga was applied to the Kali–dynasties at least upto the Mauryas. Let us see how this is done. I have shown that[2] Vśākhayūpa of the Pradyota dynasty was a senior contemporary of Sumitra. Therefore, the ends of the Aikṣvākus, Ailas and Pradyotas should coincide. But as it is now shown by Dr. Pradhan that Śaiśunāgas and Pradyotas were collateral rulers, I think that even the end of the Śaiśunāgas should practically coincide with Sumitra. Now after the war we have 22 Bārhadrathas ; therefore the number of Ripuñjaya the last of the Bārhadrthas, will be 71 + 22 = 93rd. Then we come to 5 Pradyotas and 2 Śaiśunāgas (not ten as we shall soon see). Therefore the number of Mahānandi, who succeeded Śiśunāga Nandivardhana and who therefore was a contemporary of Sumitra, was 93 + 5 + 2 = 100th, same as Sumitra's. Thus we see that even here the Manvantara-caturyuga system was originally applied.

Before proceeding further I shall make slight digression as it is essential for the further investigations that follow. I have elsewhere shown that the statement of Magasthenes that Indians counted 6,451 years and 153 kings from Bachhus to Alexander is in absolute harmony with the Puranic traditions. But I should

1. See his chronology of Ancient India, p. 229.

2. See my paper on 'Kalki—the earliest check to Buddism' in The New Indian Antiquary, January 1942.

note here that another Greek writer, Arrian by name, has a statement on this subject which slightly differs from that of Megasthenes. The statement of Arrian is this :

"From the Dionysos to Sandrocottus, the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6,042 years, but among these a republic was thrice established.........and another to 300 years and another to 120 years.

Let us examine this statement.

The source of Arrian's informant is likely to be the same as that of the informant of Megasthenes, and yet we find a difference of 6,451 – 6,042 = 409 years between the two figures for the same number of kings. Why is this so ? I believe that though the sources of the informants of both of them are the Purāṇas, there was yet a small difference. I think that Megasthenes was supplied figures according to the Bhaviṣya-school and Arrian, who came after some three centuries, was supplied the figures according to the Vy-Mt school. Let us, therefore, see how matters stand in these two schools. Generally accepted figures for the Kali dynasties of these two schools are as under :

TABLE I

Dynasty	Acc. to Bh[1]	Acc. to Vy-Mt
Bāhradrathas ...	1,000	1,000
Pradyotas ...	138	138
Śaiśunāgas ...	362	362 or 360
Nandas ...	100	100
Mauryas ...	316	137
Śuṅgas ...	300	112
Kāṇvas ...	85	45
Āndhras ...	506	506[2]
	2,807	2,398

1. Taken from Krishnamachariar's classical San-Lit.

2. The actual figure for this dynasty as given by Vy-Mt school is 455 or so, but I take 506 years to bring down the calculation to the one and the same king. Bh account comes down to the 33rd Andhra king, while Vy-Mt account stops at 27th or 30th king. To bring it down to the same level *i. e.* to the 33rd king I have taken 506 years for the Vy-Mt. school also.

Thus the difference between the schools is of 2,807 – 2,398 = 409 years which is just the difference between the figures of the two Greek writers. Thus we see that both Megasthenes and Arrian speak of the same dates, only their sources were different Purāṇas.[1] This raises the important question of the causes as to why these different schools came into existence. But this we shall not consider here.

Just now we are concerned with the more important part of Arrian's statement that the Indians had three periods of Republic during those years. Out of these three periods, he has given the last two as of 300 years and 120 years respectively. I suggest that the first period, the figure of which is lost, was of 350 years and I further suggest that this period of 350 years of Republic was the period from Mahānanda (Śaiśunāga) to Mahāpadma (Nanda).

There are indications, in the Purāṇas and Buddhistic books about a possible Republic at Magadha at this time. We know that Śiśunāga belonged both to Kāśī and Vaiśālī. Both these were republican states in those days. And Śiśunāga or his successor Mahānanda who must have believed in the republican ideals, must have established a republic at Magadha also. That is why we are told that Śiśunāga was elected as a king of Magadha. But as Śiśunāga did not live long after his conquest of Magadha, the republican period of Magadha was calculated from Mahānanda's accession in 1986 B. C. Therefore from 1986 B. C. to 1636 B. C. (date of Mahāpadma's accession) for 350 years there was a republic in Magadha.

The Purāṇas have recognised this period of 350 years both implicitly and explicitly. I shall show how. We have seen that from P's birth (theoretical) to Mahānanda's accession, there had actually elapsed 1,150 years (3,136 – 1,986 = 1,150). Yet the Purāṇas give 1,000 years for the Bāhradrathas, 138 years for the Pradyotas and 362 years for the Śaiśunāgas *i. e.* they give in all 1,500 years from P's birth to Mahāpadma. Thus we get

1. This shows that both the Purāṇa schools were in existence in the 2nd century A. D. and even in the 3rd century B. C. and the difference between the two schools was the same as it is found in them to-day.

a difference of 1,500 − 1,150 = 350 years which is the period of the republic as given by Arrian.

Now for these 1,500 years, Purāṇas will require, according to the Manvantara-caturyuga system, 1500 ÷ 40 = 37 + sādhika kings or king-units. It is therefore that the Śaiśunāga dynasty as we have it to-day was created. We have 22 Bāhradrathas, 5 Pradyotas and 10 Śaiśunāgas. Thus we get a total of 37 kings or king-units from P's birth to the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda.

This is more explicitly recorded in the Purāṇas. We have a verse which generally reads thus

महापद्माभिषेकात्तु यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः ।
एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरम् ॥[1]

the last quarter showing variants (1) jñeyaṃ pañcadaśottaram; (2) jñeyaṃ pañcaśatottaram, (3) śataṃ pañcadaśottaraṃ. To these I add a possible variant like śataṃ pañcāśaduttaraṃ, though it is not found in Pargiter's variants. That means that according to these statements, distance between P's birth and Mahāpadma or Mahānanda (for the last quarter of the above verse shows a variant Mahānanda for Mahāpadma) was 1,015, 1,050, 1,115. 1,150 or 1,500 years. I think that here has happened a confusion between two originally distinct statements. So far as I see these two statements would be as under :

महानन्दाभिषेकात्तु यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः ।
एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरम् ॥

with three variants nos. (1), (3) and (4) as given above. I further think that this statement must have been originally found in Vy school. The second statement would read thus :

महापद्माभिषेकात्तु यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः ।
एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चशत्तोत्तरम् ॥

And this must have been the original statement of the Bh school.

I, therefore, think that here we have an explicit statement that the period between P's birth and Mahānanda's accession was of 1,015 or 1,050 or 1,115 or 1,150 years, whereas the period between P's birth and Mahāpadma's accession was of 1,500 years.

1. Dynasties of Kali Age. Pargiter notes that for Mahāpadma, Brahmāṇḍa reads Mahānanda, (fn. 14th).

I also think that the different readings recorded above are genuine statements and not mere mistaken readings. Taking 1,986 B. C. as the date of Mahānanda's accession, let us find out the date of P's birth according to these different figures (except 1,500 which goes with Mahāpadma and not with Mahānanda).

1,986	1,986	1,986	1,986
1,015	1,050	1,115	1,150
3,001	3,036	3,101	3,136

Thus we get 3,001 B. C., 3,036 B. C., 3,101 B. C., and 3,136 B. C. as the dates of P's birth and we have seen earlier that all these dates are likely to be taken as the dates of P's birth due to confusing his dates with the dates of the war or the Kali-start. Out of these figures, the figure of 1,150 years is real, other figures are likely to have come into existence, apparently after the sandhyā and sandhyānśa periods of yugas were fixed.

Therefore Mahānanda's accession was in 1,986 B. C. and Mahāpadma's accession was in 1,636 B. C. Thus between P's birth and Mahānanda's accession there were 1,150 years and between P's birth and Mahāpadma's accession there were 1,500 years. How these years were adjusted in the chronology of the first three Kali dynasties will be clear from the following considerations.

We should bear in mind that the present Śaisunāga dynasty is composed of two original dynasties *viz*. the Baimbisāra dynasty and the Śaiśunāga dynasty. I have shown elsewhere[1] how Baimbisāras were the upholders of heretic religions like Janism and Buddhism and how Viśākhayūpa (the last Pradyota king), Śiśunāga (the first of the two Śiśunāgas), Sumitra and Kṣemaka formed themselves into a confederacy under the guidance of Kalki and dealt a crushing defeat to the Magadhan Baimbisāra king.

Mahānanda, the successor of Śiśunāga came to the throne in 1,986 B. C. according to my calculations and it was in this year that Kalki and others reconstructed the Brahmanic religion as well as Puranic genealogies. The time was eminently suited for such a construction, for not only Kaliyuga of 1,000 years was about to close (after ten years) but the Mahācaturyuga of 4,000 years was to close also. And both chronologically and politically a real Kṛta yuga (golden age) was to commence, as the

1. In my paper on 'Kalki—the Earliest Check to Buddhism' in New Indian Antiquary, January 1942.

heretics were put down and standard of the orthodox faith was raised aloft. It was, thus, in 1,986 B. C., from which date started the First Republic of 350 years, that the geneologies were reconstructed.

At that time Śaiśunāga dynasty was not what it is now. At the time of the Mbh war the Puranas were following the Hastināpura line of the Lunar dynasty. After the Mbh. war they followed the Magadha line upto Ripuñjaya. Then the throne of Magadha passed on to the Baimbisāras and as they were hereties, the Purāṇas did not follow the Magadha line after the Bārhadrathas but took up the Avantī line of Pradyotas. After the Pradyotas they, once again, followed the Maghada line of Śaiśunāgas, because Śiśunāga ruled there.

Now in 1,986 B. C. at the time of the death of Śiśunāga and accession of Mahānanda, 1,150 years had passed from the theoretical accession of Parikṣit (3,136 – 1,986 = 1,150). For these 1,150 years they would require (1,150 – 40 =) 28 + s ādhika king-units, according to the Manvantara-Caturyuga Method. They accounted for these units thus : 22 Bārhadrathas + 5 Pradyotas + 1 Śiśunāga = 28 king-units over + Mahānanda ruling. Thus in 1,986 B. C., 28 Caturyugas or king-units had been actually over and the 29th was going. At this time, in 1,986 B. C. Baimbisāras were given no place in the Imperial genealogies.

Then with Mahānanda in 1,986 B. C., started the First Republic of 350 years. It ended in 1,636 B. C., and in the same year Mahāpadma came to the throne. So when they adjusted in 1,636 B. C. they had to account for 350 years from the accession of Mahānanda and 1,500 years from Parikṣit. Again as I shall show later, though the Purāṇas give 100 years to Nandas, they in reality, ruled for 86 years. So the Nanda dynasty was over in 1,636 – 86 = 1,550 B. C. Therefore in the days of Mahāpadma they had to account for 1,500 years and in the days of Candragupta Maurya for 1,586 years. I shall now show how these were adjusted.

But we should understand that the Purāṇic traditions show a great confusion about this period of 350 to 450 years. I shall first mention the points of confusion and then explain them. The first point of confusion is between the names Mahānanda and Mahāpadma but this we have seen above. Next we find that though the Purāṇas are silent, the Buddhist tradition records that "the sons of Kālāśoka were 10 brothers, 22 years did they reign. Afterwards the nine Nandas were kings in succession ; they too reigned for 22 years".[1]

1. See Mahāvaṁśa as quoted in Hindu India (p. 63) by S. K. Aiyangar.

LEGAL RELATIONS BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES IN ANCIENT INDIA

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CONTENTS:

I. PREFACE

1A Ancient India is a country of contradictions. The law-sources on which this dissertation is based were written down probably between the Vth century B.C. and the IVth century A.D.[1] They give us a contemporary description of several worlds,

1. Āpastambīya-Dharmasūtra, Bhaudhāyana-Dharmaśāstra, Bṛhaspati-mṛti, Gautamīya-Dharmaśāstra, Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra, Mānava-Dharma-śāstra, Nārada-Smṛti, Vāsiṣṭha-Dharmaśāstra, Viṣṇu-Smṛti.

perhaps of several epochs, probably a contemporary picture of oldest, old and actual epochs, ('actual epoch' relating to the lifetime of the authors of these sources). As far as for example the forms of marriage are concerned every source describes at the same time all its forms—the most primitives ones (capture), the later ones (purchase), the more advanced ones (sham purchase), and the most advanced ones (contracted with the mutual agreement of the parties).

In a similar manner the sources describe the working conditions. The law sources treated by me contain only sporadic and chaotic laws and rules concerning the working-rates and, especially, the agreements between employers and employees.

As an employee one might consider f. i. a building contractor and as worker a carpenter, or a qualified worker who brings timber to the building place. Employers and employees are only rarely mentioned in the law sources.

The aim of this dissertation is to collect together the different rules, dispersed and scattered at various places and to create a juridical system concerning the working conditions in Ancient India.

B. The Dharmaśāstras and Arthaśāstras know five kinds of persons obliged to serve (शुश्रूषक). These persons are classified according to the fact whether the 'śuśrūṣaka' does pure or impure work. Nār.[1] gives as impure work the following—sweeping the gateway, the privy, the road and the place for rubbish, shampooing of the private parts of the body, gathering and putting away the leavings of food, ordure, and urine, rubbing the master's limbs, when desired. All other kinds of work besides these quoted above are considered as pure work.[2] Impure work is done by "slaves". Nevertheless the slaves cannot be considered as employees. The slave evidently can neither conclude a contract with his master nor agree upon the reward, because according to the Ancient Indian Law-sources, the slave is not able to command himself and never receives a reward; a slave is not his own master.[3,4,5]

1. N.V.—6-7. 2. N.—V.7.
3. See K. III. ch. 13. 4. N. I—29.
5. Therefore this classification is valueless from the point of view of pure law.

It appears from the sentence[1] below cited that the chief contents of the working-agreement was : the determination of the scale of the reward, the worker ought to receive from the employer. It is also clear that such an agreement between the proprietor as an employer and the slave as an employee could not be concluded. The pure work is done by the real workers, and the ancient Indian Law-sources know four kinds of those workers. The workers are named कर्मकर that is workers for another person. We find in Nar.[2] a statement concerning them : 'A Veda student, an apprentice, a hired servant and fourthly : an official, these must be regarded as labourers (i. e. who work for salary : भृत्)...'.

We find a more precise classification of the workers[3] in Bṛh.[4] We read there : 'They are pronounced to be of many sorts, according to their particular caste and occupation ; and fourfold, according as they serve for science, human knowledge (or skill), love or gain'. This division has probably to be understood in the sense that the workers are distinguished above all according to their caste and employment ; within this classification these workers are again divided according to their general knowledge of special sciences, their predilections and abilities. Only the first classification possesses importance from the legal point of view while the subdivisions can have consequences only for the wages due for their labour.[5]

As regards the 'कर्मकर' it must be pointed out that the statement of dependence forms the characteristic criterion for all those 'who were working in favour of another person'.[6] At all events neither a Veda student, nor an apprentice can be considered '*sensu stricto*' as a worker. The fact that the worker received the reward from the employer is the indispensable criterion for the quality of a worker. In consequence neither the Veda student, nor the apprentice nor other persons mentioned in some Dharmaśāstras, such as a ऋत्विज् or a गुरु or a merchant and so on, can be considered workers from the actual legal point of view. Therefore the rules found in the Dharma-and Artha-

1. See below.
2. N. V.—3.
3. *Pars pro toto.*
4. Bṛh. XVI—3.
5. N. V.—22.
6. See Par. 2.

Śāstras concerning such persons are not discussed in this dissertation.[1] This is also the case as regards the courtezans, who are often mentioned in the law-sources where they are considered as workers. As it appears especially from Kaut.[2] the courtezans[3] were dependent on another person, and thus they cannot be considered free persons who are able to command what they earned.[4] Therefore the courtezans may be compared with slaves and cannot be counted as workers.[5] Evidently the agreement concerning the rate cannot be considered as a contract of service[6] despite the agreement concerning the rate that is mentioned in the sixth book of Nār., where the cases of the non-payment of wages are enumerated,[7] because all the criterions of a contract of service are missing.[8]

According to the Dharmaśāstras there are three categories of भृतक्: the highest, the middlemost and the lowest.[9] The Kṣatriyas belong to the highest class,[10] the cultivators of the soil to the middlemost,[11] and the porters to the lowest class.[12] By reason of what was said before the Kṣatriyas can hardly be considered workers from the point of view of Law, so that only the cultivators of the soil, the watchmen and the porters, besides the especially mentioned herdsmen,[13] have the quality of true

1. See concerning ऋत्विज : K. III. ch. 14; concerning गुरु : N. V—8-21. Vi. XVIII; concerning the trader: K. III. ch. 13, N. 22; concerning the carrier: Y. I—197/8 and other.

2. K. II. ch. 27.

3. वेश्या, गणिका, रूपाजीवा, पुंश्चली, बन्धकी, रूपदासी etc.

4. It results from this circumstance that they are obliged to announce thier profit to the गणिकाध्यक्ष and that the गणिकाध्यक्ष is obliged to enter it in a book.

5. But some characteristic peculiarities concerning the contracts with courtezans will be discussed, because sometimes they can be applied '*per analogiam*' to the general contracts of service.

6. N. VI.—20-22.

7. This chapter is called 'Non-payment of wages'.

8. Deficiensy of state of dependence, of work, and of salary.

9. N. V.—22, Bṛh. XVI—10.

10. N. V—23, Bṛh. XVI—10.

11. N. V—23, Bṛh. XVI—10.

12. N. V—23, Bṛh. XVI—10.

13. We find in the sources of law special regulations concerning the contracts and the reciprocal relations between the owner of the herd and the herdsman. Because these contracts are special contracts, the relative rules will be discussed in the second part of this article.

workers. We find in the law-sources only some examples of the enumerated workers, and the enumerated workers are not the only ones known to Ancient Indian Law. It appears firstly from the rules contained in Bṛh. that servants employed in household work were workers,[1] and secondly from Nār. that the कौटुम्बिक i. e. the general family servant are appointed to manage the property of the family and to superintend the household,[2] for that reason must be regarded also as a labourer. Several law-sources mention different persons engaged in different occupations as workers. Not only those sometimes mentioned in the Law-sources, but also persons sometimes not mentioned in Law-sources ought to be considered as workers when they stand in a state of dependence and if they are obliged to work for a reward paid by the employer. In this dissertation only employees of such a kind will be discussed.

2. 'The sages have declared that the state of dependence is common to all these, (i. e. labourers) ; but that their respective position and income depends on their particular caste and occupation' (Nār. V—6).

This also is the principal idea of the Ancient Dharmaśāstras, from which the characteristic criterion of the contract of service in Ancient India mostly proceeds. The rule contained in Nār., that 'the state of dependence is common to all workers' is also authoritative for the legislation of present times.

The state of dependence is the '*essentiale negotii*' of the contract of service according to Ancient Indian Law.

The second part of the above mentioned sentence in Nār. has to be understood in such a way that their respective position depends on their particular caste, whilst their income depends on their occupation. This distinction of 'caste' and 'occupation' is founded in the social organisation of Ancient India. Nevertheless it can not be overlooked that various services could only have been done by members of certain castes.

3A. Before the beginning of the work both the parties were obliged to conclude a formal contract of service, because the

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1. Bṛh. XVI—10. 2. N. V—24.

labourer must do the work which he promised to do, and receives the stipulated fee.[1] The contract of service had, therefore, to regulate two principal questions : the kind of the service the labourer was obliged to do and the scale of the wage the employer was obliged to pay. The labourer rendered service and the employer paid the stipulated fee for service rendered. Because the scale of fees gave more often occasion for quarrels than the kind and manner of the service due, the scale of the reward had to be fixed above all in the contract of service. This transpires clearly from the tennor of the title of the VI-th book of Nār.[2] and from the contents of the first sentence of this book,[3] as well as from the second *śloka* of the XVI-th book of Bṛh.[4] These chapters mainly regulate the question of 'Payment and non-payment of wages' due to the employee.

B. It is certain that the contract of service had to correspond with all the general conditions and suppositions of contracts. Therefore the contract of service had to contain also the following stipulations: the date[5] i. e. the year, season, month, half year, day,[6] further the place where the contract was concluded[7] i. e. the village and region,[8] determination of the contracting parties and their names, employments, castes, gotra,[9] the designation of the matter[10] i. e. the extent of the special specifications, the description, contents, form and kind of the service to be done,[11] the scale of the stipulated wages,[12] the duration of contract[13] and probably the reciprocal conditions between the parties,[14] as well as the additional stipulated reservations.[15]

This contract had not to be in contradiction with the rules of '*ius cogens*',[16] the special local customs[17] and especially with the current general local customs.[18]

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1. Bṛh. XIV—9.
2. 'Non-payment of wages'.
3. We find there rules concerning the non-payment of wages.
4. Bṛh. XVI-2.
5. N. I.—71, 233, 238.
6. K. III. ch. 1.
7. N. I.—71, 233, 238.
8. K. III. ch. 1.
9. K. III. ch. 1.
10. N. I.—71, 233, 238.
11. K. III. ch. 1.
12. K. III. ch. 1, N. I.—71, 238.
13. N. I.—71.
14. N. I.—238.
15. K. III. ch. 1.
16. Mn. VIII—163, N. I—136.
17. Vi. VII.—11.
18. Mn. VIII—164, N. I.—136.

Such a contract could not be concluded with a person incapable of acting either on the side of the employer or on the side of the employee. The following persons were considered as incapable of acting :

(*a*) Women,[1] unless the relative agreement was ratified by their husbands,[2] or in his absence by her son,[3] and in absence of both by the king,[4] i. e. by the existing guardian.[5]

(*b*) Minors. Minors were considered children[6] until the eighth year of age, and were compared with embryos,[7] young men[8] (पोगण्ड) between the ninth and the sixteenth year of age,[9] were also considered minors and also people of full age[10] as long as the parents were alive[11] because the son during the lifetime of his father was like a slave[12] who was not able to command himself.[13]

(*c*) Dependent persons,[14] i. e. already dependent persons or subsequently dependent persons,[15] for example attendants,[16] slaves,[17]—provided that the transactions of slaves were ratified by the owner of the slave,[18] or were contracted on behalf of the family of his master.[19] It is learned that Nār. acknowledges as independent only three persons i. e. the king, the spiritual teacher, and in all castes successively a householder in his own household.[20] All other persons are dependent on the

1. Vi. XVII—10, N. I.—23, 137, Y. II—31, Bṛh. VIII—23.
2. N. I—27. 3. N. I—27. 4. N. I—27.
5. Mn. V—148, IX—3, Vās. V—2, B. II—3-45, Vi. XXV—13, Y. I—85, 66, MBh. XIII—46-14, Vās. V—3, Nār. (Vivādaratnākara 410,411), Smṛtyantara, (Aparārka 109).
6. Vi. XVII—10, Mn. VIII—166, N. I—35, 36, 39, Y. II—32, Bṛh. VIII—23.
7. N. I—35. 8. N. I—35, 137. 9. N. I—35.
10. K. III. ch. 1, N. I—36-38, 30-31.
11. N. I—36-38, see N. I—31.
12. N. I—30. 13. N. I—29.
14. Vi. VII—10, N. I—29, 48, see Mn. VIII—163.
15. K. III. ch. 1. 16. N. I—34.
17. N. I—29. 18. N. I—30,
19. Mn. VIII—167, Vi. VI—39. 20. N. I—32.

kings,[1] although this has no influence on their capacity of acting.

(*d*) Persons, who although independent have lost control over their actions,[2&3] as persons attracted by love,[4] or anger,[5] tormented by illness,[6] distressed by a calamity,[7] persons who are under the influence of friends or enemies,[8] tortured by pains or dying,[9] intoxicated,[10] mad,[11] idiots,[12] bashful[13] or very old.[14]

(*e*) Persons on whom force has been used or acted upon by intimidation,[15] by fear,[16] or by deception.[17]

(*f*) Unauthorised persons.[18]

(*g*) Persons charged with a crime (criminals).[19]

(*h*) Ascetics.[20]

The contract has neither to be concluded '*in fraudem*' of the other party,[21] nor to be attested by the signature of a witness bribed by the other party,[22] nor to be written by a scribe[23] of bad character.[24]

Apart from these general contract-conditions which are to be found in all the agreements ('*ius cogens*') the contract of service can also contain other special stipulations mentioned in the law-sources only accessorily ('*ius dispositivum*'). We read for example in Kaut.[25] that the following stipulation may be contained in the contract of service: 'You shall not employ

1. N. I—33. 2. N. I—40-41, K. III—ch. 1, Vi. VII—10.
3. N. I—41. 4. N. I—41. 5. N. I—41, K. III—ch. 1.
6. N. I—41, Vi. VII—10, Mn. VIII—163 (not wholesome and very ill), K. III. ch. 1 (cripple), Y. II—32.
7. Bṛh. VIII—23. 8. N. I—41, see Y. II—31, Bṛh. VIII—23.
9. K. III. ch. 1 (unhappy), Bṛh. VIII—23.
10. K. III. ch. 1, Vi. VII—10, Mn. VIII—163, N. I—137, see Y. II—31. Bṛh. VIII—23.
11. K. III. ch. 1, Y. II—32, Bṛh. VIII—22. 12. Bṛh. VIII—22.
13. Bṛh. VIII—22. 14. Mn. VIII—163.
15. N. I—137, Vi. VII—10, Bṛh. VIII—22, differently K. III. ch. 1.
16. N. I—137, Mn. VIII—168, Bṛh. VIII—23, differently K. III. ch. 1.
17. N. I—137, Y. II—31. 18. Mn. VIII—163, Y. II—32.
19. K. III. ch. 1. N. I—137. 20. K. III. ch. 1.
21. Vi. VII—7. Mn. VIII—163. 22. Vi. VII—8.
23. Vi. VII—9. 24. Vi. VII—8. 25. K. III—ch. 14.

another servant to execute the work, nor can I give the execution of this work to another person'. By such a reservation the employee was unconditionally obliged to do his work in person ; should a reservation of this kind not have been put, the employee had the right to cede the execution of the work to another person.

In another passage of Kaut.[1] it is learned that especially with regard to contracts of service the neighbours (आसन्न) have to know its contents.[2] It must be supposed that this passage of Kaut. deals with a verbal and not with a written contract of service, because as regards the contents a written contract no doubt can arise whether the contract is authentic. This is seen from the following passage found in Nār.[3] 'Writing is an excellent eye (as it were), because it solves all doubts which may have arisen as regards to place, time, profit, matter, quantity, or stipulated period'.

C. The contract of service could have been concluded either for an exactly fixed period of time or for an indeterminate period or for executing a certain work.

That a contract of service could have been concluded for an **exactly fixed period** of time emerges especially from the verses 153 and 157 of the fifth book of Vi. We read there: 'A hired workman who abandons his work before the expiration of the term...',[4] or 'if an employer dismisses a workman (whom he has hired) before the expiration of the term...'[5] The period of time fixed in the contract of service may contain the designation of day, month, half-year, two months, or year.[6] It must be understood that this message describes the periods only by way of example and that the contract of service could be concluded for any period say of three or four months. This is seen from the general conditions regarding the conclusion of agreements on the whole. The reservations referring to the term of the contract of service belong to '*ius dispositivum*' and not to '*ius cogens*'.

The admissibility of a contract of service concluded for an **indeterminate term** does not result '*expressis verbis*' from the

1. K. III. ch. 13. 2. आसन्न. 3. N. I—71.
4. Vi. V—153. 5. Vi. V—157. 6. Bṛh. XVI—9.

rules found in the Dharmaśāstras and Arthaśāstras. Indirectly the admissibility of such a contract can be deduced from the rules regarding the shepherds according to which a herdsman of a hundred cows at the end of the year has to get as wages a calf and a herdsman of two hundred cows a milch-cow, or has right to milk all the cows every eighth day.[1] Admissibility of such a contract results also from the contents of a contract of 'managing the property of the family' and of 'superintending the household'.[2]

On the contrary the admissibility of a contract of service for executing **a certain work** emerges from various rules contained in the Dharmaśāstras and Arthaśāstras. To this category belong impure works as for example : rubbing of master's limbs,[3] sweeping the road, shampooing the private parts of the body, gathering and putting away the leavings of food, ordure and urine.[4] Also the following services belong to this category : conveying merchandise to its destination,[5] or an agreement between a man and a courtezan regarding sexual intercourse.[6]

The Dharmaśāstras and Arthaśāstras distinguish employees who work for themselves independently (individual employees) and such ones who form associations and therefore work in favour of the association for the total gain in which they participate.[7]

(*To be continued*)

1. N. VI—10 etc.
2. N. V—24.
3. N. V—7.
4. N. V—6, see par. 1. B.
5. N. VI—6 and other.
6. N. VI—18 and other, see par. 1. B
7. Bṛh. XVI—8, 11.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE BIRĀHĀN

Dasharatha Sharma, Bikaner.

The Birāhān are mentioned more than once in Muslim histories. The *Futūhu-s-Salātin* of Isāmi mentions them among the tribes which helped Razīyya and Altūniya in their unsuccessful attempt to defeat Muiz-ud-dīn Bahrām Shāh and thereby to recover the throne of Delhi.[1] Barani too speaks of the Birāhān. They were apparently a contumacious and warlike tribe like the Jāts, Bhātīs, and the Mandāharas whose chiefs and headmen were, along with theirs, carried away to Delhi for punishment in Muhammad bin Tughlak's reign.[2] The name occurs also on page 295 of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own historians*, Vol. III.

Professor Hodivala tried to identify the tribe in his *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*. He found *Parihār* to be its nearest phonetic equivalent but did not, rightly enough, feel inclined to equate them with Parihār Rājpūts.[3] Richardson explained the word *Birāh* as "one who errs, deviates, or loses the way".[4] But he too has not been able to give the right meaning of the term as it is used in our Muslim histories. Actually, *Birāhā* is the name of an old Rajput tribe, now almost extinct, which once ruled the tracts forming the boundary of Rajputana, the Punjab, and Sindh. Tod calls them *Barāhā*.[5] Nainsi has the name *Varihāhā* for them and makes them the rivals and relatives of the Bhātīs.[6] The tract termed Varahāsādyā in Somesvara Paramāra's inscription of V. 1218 most probably means the

1. [illegible], verses 2634-5.
2. *E. and D.*, III, p. 245.
3. *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, xvi.
4. Quoted by Hodivala in his *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 295.
5. Tod gives the story of a Barāhā *bhomiā*, Bhagavatīdāsa, whose daughter was carried away by the Khān of Nāgor in spite of the stiff resistance put up by the Barāhās who lost four hundred men in the battle fought to save the honour of their chieftain's daughter. (*Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, II, p. 198, Routledge's Popular Edition).
6. He shows them to have been a fairly powerful clan whose territories were taken away by their own relative, Devarāja Bhātī, an ancestor of Jaisal, the founder of Jaisalmer. (See his *Khyāta*, II, pp. 263-270.)

territory occupied by the Varāhās, Varihāhā, or Birāhās.[1] They were once a fairly strong clan. But the enemies that they had to deal with were, at times, more numerous and, mostly, at least more unscrupulous than the Birāhān who slowly but steadily went down in the political scale till at last they disappeared first from the political and then the social horizon of India. In Rajputana, the nobility of a Rajput clan largely depends on the amount of lands that it possesses. By the sixteenth century or so, the Birāhān appear to have lost most of their principalities and with that the claim to be regarded as high class Rājpūts. Once this happened, the clan must have found it easy only to go downwards in the social scale and become merged among half-castes like Dāroghās, and Sipāhīs.[2]

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1. P. C. Nahar, *Jain Inscriptions*, I, pp. 251 ff.

2. " Rājpūts of pure blood reduced to poverty and finding it impossible to keep up their position as Rājpūts have sometimes joined the Dārogha class and become Dāroghās ".

(*Speeches and writings of Har Bilas Sarda*, p. 434).

CIKITSĀMAÑJARĪ, ANOTHER OBSCURE WORK BY RAGHUNĀTHA-PAṆḌITA MANOHARA, AND ITS DATE—1697 A. C.

Sadashiva L. Kātre, M.A., Ujjain

I read with much interest Mr. P. K. Gode's recent notice of the *Kavikaustubha*, a hitherto unknown work of Raghunātha-Paṇḍita Manohara (=R P M), published in *Poona Orientalist* Vol. VII, Nos. 3–4, Pp. 157 ff. In my present short paper I propose to acquaint the readers with another work by the same author viz. the *Cikitsāmañjvrī*[1] which, too, like the *Kavikaustubha*, has not been recorded in the three volumes of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, and to furnish conclusive evidence for the common authorship of the three works *Vaidyavilāsa*, *Kavikaustubha* and *Cikitsāmañjarī*.

It would not be out of place here to review very briefly some important articles on this R P M published in leading Marathi journals only a few years back but ignored altogether by Mr. Gode in his notice of the *Kavikaustubha*. My paper 'आणखी एक रघुनाथ-पंडित' appeared in the December 1937 issue (Pp. 20 ff) of the now defunct Marathi monthly *Mahārāṣṭra-Śāradā* of Bombay edited by Mr. S. R. Tikekar. The main purpose of that paper was to introduce R P M, the author of the Sanskrit work *Vaidyavilāsa*,[2] to Marathi readers and to suggest a new probable solution to the vexed problem of the identity of the author of the celebrated Marathi poem *Damayantīsvayaṁvara* that is ascribed to one Raghunātha-Paṇḍita.[3] I put forth the plea for the likelihood of R P M, evidently a Citpāvana Brāhmaṇa hailing from Campāvatī

1. Hiralal in his *C. P. and Berar Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS* (Nagpur, 1926) mentions on p. 156 (No. 1676) a work bearing this title without recording its author's name.

2. A lithograph edition of the *Vaidyavilāsa* had been published from Bombay as early as 1830 A. C. as recorded by Ernest Haas in the *British Museum Catalogue of Sanskrit and Pali Books* (1876), p. 115a. I had mentioned this fact in my paper published in the *Mahārāṣṭra-Śāradā*.

3. Besides the *Damayantīsvayaṁvara*, two other Marathi poems named *Gajendramokṣa* and *Rāmadāsavarṇana* respectively are also ascribed to this Raghunātha-Paṇḍita.

somewhere in the Deccan, having composed some very fine poetical works in Sanskrit and Marathi and also of the *Damayantīsvayaṁvara* being possibly one of them, mainly on the grounds of his highly elegant and polished style exhibited in the medical treatise throughout and many suggestive passages therein, like the autobiographical adjectives[1] पण्डित, कवि, महाकवि, कवीश्वर, कविकुलावतंस, गुणप्रतिभावितति, तर्कमुखाखिलवाग्रचनाघटिकाशतपद्यनिषण्णमति etc. which would otherwise be irrelvant, as also of his date (Śaka 1619 = 1697 A. C.) which belongs approximately to the period to which the *Damayantīsvayaṁvara* is usually assigned by scholars. Subsequently Mr. Y. G. Phaphe (Manohara) of Poona, who comes of a branch of R P M's main family and could naturally shed easy light on the details of the author's line, family-god, place of residence, etc., contributed a very learned and elaborate paper 'कवि रघुनाथ पंडित मनोहर' to the March 1938 issue (Pp. 262 ff) of the Marathi monthly *Sahyādri* of Poona and lent undreamt—of support to my original plea. He unchallengably identified R P M's Campāvatī with Chaul in the Kolaba district where a few branches of the Manohara family are flourishing to this day, pointed out Gaṇeśa, so prominently adored in the *Vaidyavilāsa* as shown by me, to be the later family-god of the Manoharas and suggested R P M to be identical with Rāghava, the author of an extant lucid metrical rendering (*Samaślokī*) in Marathi of Jagannātha-Paṇḍita's *Gaṅgālaharī*, who expresses[2] his special addiction to Gaṇeśa located in the place known as Gaṇapaticī Pālī in Konkan. Mr. Phaphe also put forth some very

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1. Vide the colophons and such passages in the *Vaidyavilāsa* as '...कविराघवेण वितन्यते वैद्यविलास एषः' (I. 3.), 'किल बालमृगाङ्ककिरीटदयासदयस्य गुणप्रतिभाविततेः। ननु तर्कमुखाखिलवाग्रचनाघटिकाशतपद्यनिषण्णमतेः॥ मनोहरकुलाम्भोधे रघुनाथविधोर्भुवः। वागुस्रैर्मे रसज्ञानां हृत्पद्मं विकसत्विह॥ चम्पावतीपुरनिवासवतादरेण सन्दर्भितश्च रघुनाथकवीश्वरेण। etc.' (X. 53-55).

2. Vide the concluding Verse 54 of the *Samaślokī*—श्रीपल्लीशसुरेन्द्र भार्गवकृता भूमीवरी नांदतो तत्पादाब्जपराग राघव सदा अत्यादरें वंदितो। तेणें प्राकृतपद्यहृद्यसुमनें निष्टा गुणी साधुनी माळा अर्पिलि जान्हवीस म्हणुनी हे मानिजे साधुनीं॥ The MSS. Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, possesses three MSS. (Accession Nos. 2810, 3690 and 3691 respectively) containing Rāghava's Marathi *Samaślokī* of the *Gaṅgālahari* (—Catalogue of MSS., Ujjain, Part II, 1941, P. 30) and Mr. Phaphe, too, possesses a copy of the same.

strong proofs,[1] internal as well as external, to demonstrate the probable identity of R P M, the likelihood of whose temporary location in Rājā Shahāji's court at Tanjore was also guessed,[2] with the author of the *Damayantīsvayaṁvara*. Later Mr. G. R. Rajopadhye tried to controvert some of Mr. Phaphe's findings in his paper 'कवि रघुनाथ पंडित उपाध्ये' published in an issue of the now suspended Marathi monthly *Lokaśikṣaṇa* of Poona and a rejoinder to him from Mr. Phaphe appeared in a further issue of the same journal. I am not aware if any other paper on the subject appeared anywhere subsequently. It cannot, of course, be claimed that the final word has been uttered on the controversy, but, at any rate, a very strong case has been made for R P M's authorship of the *Damayantīsvayaṁvara* and Mr. A. K. Priyolkar's thesis[3] that Raghunāthabhaṭṭa Upādhye composed the poem has been substantially challenged.

My guess of the likelihood of the author of the *Vaidyavilāsa* having composed some fine poetical works receives further corroboration in fact to-day by Mr. Gode's direct and indirect discoveries of the same R P M's two Sanskrit works *Kavikaustubha* and *Chandoratnāvali* on Poetics and Prosody respectively.

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1. The readers are advised to see Mr. Phaphe's paper in the original, as it is not possible to furnish even a summary of his points here for want of space. The most important external evidence for the identity is furnished by the following description of a premier Paṇḍita and poet named Raghunātha-Bhaṭṭa in Shahāji's court occurring in Ullāsa VI of Jayarāma Piṇḍye's *Rādhāmādhavavilāsacampū*—तदनु चाऊरकरोपनामानः पण्डितवारिष्ठा रघुनाथभट्टाः स्पष्टतरमेवमुदीरयाञ्चक्रुः etc. Mr. Phaphe's explanation of the surname चाऊरकर here as a corruption of चौलकर appears to be quite natural. Mr. A. K. Priyolkar, however, derived the same from तंजावरकर or चंदावरकर. By the way, Mr. Phaphe also corrected an error in my paper that was due to a misreading in a MS. of the *Vaidyavilāsa* used by me.

2. The main reasons for this guess are absence of any traces of R P M in the records of the extant branches of the Manohara family at Chaul and the almost simultaneous existence of a Paṇḍita and poet named Raghunātha-Bhaṭṭa Caūrakara (=Chaulkar) in Shahāji's court which suggest that R P M might have left his home and gone abroad to seek his fortune. Mr. Phaphe also collects some passages suggesting the poor circumstances at home of the author of the *Damayantīsvayaṁvara*.

3. Vide his learned introduction to his scholarly and critical edition of the poem.

Now to turn to the main purpose in hand. During my casual short stay at Bombay nearly three years ago I had been to the Bombay University Library and through the kindness of Dr. P. M. Joshi, the University Librarian, had a complete, though hasty, look through the press MS. of the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.* in that Library that has been awaiting publication for some years. Two old MSS (Serial Nos. 195 and 196) of a medical treatise entitled *Cikitsāmañjarī* described on Pp. 152–154 of the press MS. at once attracted my attention as I found the work to be composed by R P M himself in whom I was interested for the reasons mentioned above.

The *Cikitsāmañjarī* is, like the *Vaidyavilāsa*, a metrical work on medicine. However, it deals mainly with the Cikitsā or Therapeutics section of Āyurveda and is consequently less comprehensive in its scope than the *Vaidyavilāsa* which contains detailed independent sections on many additional matters like the preparations of various Bhasmans, Rasāyanas and other prescribed sorts of Āyurvedic medicines, Vājīkaraṇavidhi, etc. The *Cikitsāmañjarī* contains seven chapters (= Kusumas) named serially as 1 अष्टविधज्वरचिकित्सा, 2 अतिसारचिकित्सा, 3 अजीर्णादिचिकित्सा, 4 रक्तपित्तादिचिकित्सा, 5 हृद्रोगादिचिकित्सा, 6 त्वगामयचिकित्सा, and 7 रसनिरूपण. The main body of the work is preluded by a separate introductory chapter entitled नाडीज्ञानविधि.

MS. Serial No. 195, which is No. 475 of the Bhadkamkar Collection of MSS. now deposited in the Bombay University Library, consists of 46 folios of the size 8½ × 5 inches and is dated Śaka 1689 (= 1767 A. C.). The extracts below are taken from this MS.

The Introductory chap. (viz. Nāḍījñānavidhi) begins :—
विधिमुखाम्बुजकाननचारिणी विशदहंसवधूर्भवनान्तरे । विकचमानसवारिरुहे मम प्रथितवैभववाग्रमतां मुदा ॥ १ ॥ वैद्यानां जीवनार्थाय कौतुकाय विपश्चिताम् । नाडीज्ञानविधिं वक्ति रघुनाथो विचक्षणः ॥ २ ॥ etc.

Its Colophon reads : इति श्रीमत्कविकुलावतंसश्रीमद्रघुनाथपण्डितविरचितोऽयं नाडीज्ञानविधिः समाप्तः ॥

Ch. 1 begins : वन्देऽहं गतसन्देहं शाङ्करं लोकशङ्करम् । कारणं जगत सर्वदुरितार्तिनिवारणम् ॥ १ ॥ विचार्यात्रेयवाग्भट्टसुश्रुतादिमतं परम् । तन्यते

रघुनाथेन चिकित्सामञ्जरी मुदा ॥ २ ॥ ये ये भिषग्भिः शतशोऽनुभूता मयापि तेषां कृपयानुलब्धाः । तानेव योगान्प्रवदामि यत्र पूर्वं प्रयुक्तान्मुनिभिः प्रयत्नात् ॥ etc.

Ch. 1 ends : मनोहरकुलाम्भोधे रघुनाथविधोः स्रजः । वागुस्त्रैर्मे रसज्ञानां हृत्पद्मं विकसत्विह ॥ ८५ ॥ इति श्रीकविकुलावतंसश्रीकृष्णपण्डितसुतश्रीमद्भिकंभट्टसूरिसुतश्रीमद्रघुनाथपण्डितकविविरचितायां चिकित्सामञ्जर्यामष्टविधज्वरचिकित्सा नाम प्रथमं कुसुमं समाप्तिमगमत् ॥

The work ends : उपकाराय लोकानां भिषजां जीवनाय च । तथ्ययोगालसद्वृत्ता चिकित्सामञ्जरी कृता ॥ ७४ ॥ ग्रहेन्दुरसचन्द्रे च शाके विरचिता मुदा । वृषाब्दे राघवीयेयं चिकित्सामञ्जरी मता ॥ ७५ ॥......मनोहरकुलाम्भोधे etc. ॥ ७७ ॥......स्थानं काल्गिरिः पूर्वं ततश्चम्पावतीपुरम् । महालक्ष्मीः कलाधीशा (कुलाधीशा ?) रघुनाथेन तेन च ॥ ७९ ॥ गुम्फिता मञ्जरी कण्ठे ध्रियतां कविकोविदैः । योगपीयूषभरिता चमत्कारकरी मता ॥ ८० ॥ चेष्टितं च शिशोः किञ्चिज्जायते महतां मुदे । विधेया मञ्जरी कण भूषणार्थं ध्रियं न वा ॥ ८१ ॥ इति श्रीमत्कविकुलावतंसश्रीकृष्णपण्डितसूनुश्रीमाद्भिकंभट्टसूरिसुतश्रीमद्रघुनाथपण्डितकविविरचितायां राघवीयायां चिकित्सामञ्जर्यां रसनिरूपणं नाम सप्तमं कुसुमं समाप्तिमगमत् ॥

The Scribe's Colophon reads : शके १६८९ सर्वजिन्नामसंवत्सरे ज्येष्ठशुक्लद्वादश्यां रामचन्द्रेण लिखिता मञ्जरी समाप्ता ॥

The other MS. (Serial No. 196) consists of 72 folios of the size 9 × 5¼ inches and appears to contain some additional matter. It is dated Śaka 1694 (=1772 A. C.) as is evident from its **scribe's colophon**—शके १६९४ नन्दनाब्दे भाद्रपदमासे कृष्णपक्षे षष्ठ्यां तिथौ गुरुवासरे तद्दिने तृतीयप्रहरे केशोभट्टशुक्लेन लिखितम् ॥.

The verse ग्रहेन्दुरसचन्द्रे० (VII. 75) cited above points to the *Cikitsāmañjarī* to be composed in the very Śaka year 1619 (=1697 A. C.) in which the *Vaidyavilāsa* was composed as per its verse ग्रहेन्दुरसचन्द्रे च शके मासि च कार्तिके । अयं वैद्यविलासश्च चरितो वृषवत्सरे ॥ (X. 53). However, the verse in the *Vaidyavilāsa* also mentions the month in which it was completed, but the same is not found mentioned in the *Cikitsāmañjarī*.

In all the three works we find the author's name Raghunātha-Paṇḍita, surname Manohara and title Kavikulāvataṁsa etc. The

two colophons cited above from the *Cikitsāmañjarī*, like the colophon in the *Kavikaustubha* furnished by Mr. Gode, name the author's father and grandfather as भिकंभट्ट and कृष्णपाण्डित respectively. This clearly establishes the common authorship of the *Kavikaustubha* and the *Cikitsāmañjarī*. The common authorship of the *Vaidyavilāsa* and the *Cikitsāmañjarī* is easily decided by the occurrence of many identical verses like ये ये भिषग्भिः०, मनोहरकुलाम्भोधे०, etc. and by the mention of Campāvatī as the author's place of residence in the two works.

Thus the three Sanskrit works undoubtedly come from the pen of the same R P M. A fourth Sanskrit work, viz. the *Chandoratnāvali*, by him has already been traced by Mr. Gode through citations therefrom in the *Kavikaustubha*. If to-day's high probability could result some day into a surety and we could with confidence add to the four Sanskrit works the four Marathi poems *Damayantīsvayaṁvara*, *Gajendramokṣa*, *Rāmadāsavarṇana* and *Gaṅgālaharīsamaślokī* as composed by R P M himself, the sum-total of his compositions would be highly impressive indeed.

In *Cikitsāmañjarī* VII. 79 cited above R P M mentions a place named Kāllagiri to the east of which stands his native-place Campāvatī. This furnishes an additional proof for the identity of his Campāvatī with Chaul in the Kolaba district of the Bombay Presidency and also shows the untenability of Dr. J. Eggeling's and Prof. H. D. Velankar's identification of the same with Bhagalpur in Bihar, since Kāllagiri is obviously the same as Karlai, a hilly place famous for its fortress and situated about a mile south-west of Chaul on the other side of the Gulf of Revdaṇḍā. In the same passage R P M also seems to mention Mahālakṣmī as his (earlier ?) family-goddess.

EKĀKṢARA-RATNAMĀLĀ

OF

(Mādhava, about 1350 A. D.)

M. M. Patkar

The Ekākṣara-ratnamālā[1] is a lexicon dealing with single letters of the alphabet and the meanings attached to every letter. It is a small work and is divided into three sections viz: (1) The svarakāṇḍa, (2) vyañjanakāṇḍa, and (3) the saṁyuktakāṇḍa. The svarakāṇḍa deals with vowels, the vyañjanakāṇḍa deals with consonants such as *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, etc. and the saṁyuktakāṇḍa deals with conjunct consonants, e. g. *kṣmā*, *kva*, *dra* etc.

In the introductory stanza (v. 2) of this work it is stated that the work is composed by Mādhava, son of Māyaṇa who belonged to the Bhāradvājagotra.[2] In the concluding portion of the work the author states that he is the minister of king Harihara.[3] The verse reads as follows :—

The author.

यस्त्यागेन सुरद्रुमं रघुपतिं सत्येन धर्मात्मजं
धर्मेणानुकरोत्यसौ हरिहरो नाम क्षमावल्लभः ।
तत्साम्राज्यधुरन्धरो गुणनिधिः श्रीमायणार्यात्मजो
मन्त्री माधवको निघण्टुमकरोन्नानार्थमेकाक्षरम् ॥[4]

The verse given above clearly indicates that Mādhava, the son of Māyaṇa, was entrusted with the responsibility of the affairs of his State by Harihara.

1. A MS. of this work is recorded in the Triennial Cat. of MSS. Madras (Vol. III, (1916–1919) No. 2280*a*. Also another MS. of this work exists in the Govt. MSS. Library (No. 579 of 1887–91, at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

2. भारद्वाजकुलोत्तंसो माधवो मायणात्मजः । एकाक्षरपदश्रेणिरत्नमालां करोम्यहम् ॥

3. Cf. also the following colophon :—इति श्रीहरिहरराजामात्यमाधवस्य कृतौ एकाक्षररत्नमालायां संयुक्तकाण्डस्समाप्तः ॥

4. This verse is not found in the B. O. R. I. MS.

We know from the history of Vijayanagara that one Mādhava, son of Māyaṇa was a minister of Harihara I who ruled from A.D. 1336[1] to 1356. This Mādhava viz. the minister of Harihara I was a spiritual guru of the king and a great Sanskrit scholar and was popularly known as Mādhavācārya or Vidyāraṇya. From the description as found in the colophon and also in the concluding verse of the Ekākṣara-ratnamālā quoted above we can identify its author Mādhava with the famous Mādhavācārya who was the minister and the spiritual adviser of Harihara I. As Harihara I ruled from A. D. 1336 to 1356 and as he is mentioned by the author of the present lexicon, it follows that the work must have been composed when he was ruling i. e. between A. D. 1336 and 1356 or roughly about A. D. 1350.

Date of the work.

Although the work is ascribed to Mādhava, the minister of Harihara I on the strength of internal evidence it may be supposed that a celebrated author like Mādhavācārya would be above such trifles.

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1. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri: Administration and Social Life under Vijyanagara, p. 415.

REVIEWS

The Vivaraṇaprameya-Saṁgraha of Bhāratītīrtha—Edited by S. S. Suryanarayan Sastri and Saileswar Sen. Andhra University Series No. 25. Waltair, 1941. Pp. text xiv, 110–350 Rs. 7–8–0, Translation 530–550, Rs. 6–8–0.

This is a notable addition to the existing literature on the Advaitic philosophy, of intrinsic interest to all students of Vedānta.

The V P S was formerly printed in the Vizianagaram Series and also by M. M. Pramathanath Tarkabhushan in Bengali. Both of these texts bristled with inaccuracies. So the learned editors have published this critical edition along with a correct translation, after consulting three more MSS., one from the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, one from Sri Chandrashekhara Bharati Swami of Shringeri and the third from Asiatic Society of Bengal. As is well-known, Sureśvara, Padmapāda and Vācaspati-Miśra are responsible for their three different lines of approach to the work of their Master, Śaṅkarācārya. Next to the great Śānkara-Bhaṣya itself, their three commentaries are held in high esteem by pandits and scholars, so much so that their schools of interpretation came to be styled as "*Prasthāna*" in some Śāstric circles. Thus this new "*Prasthāna-Traya*" comprises of (i) the वार्तिकप्रस्थान or सुरेश्वरप्रस्थान, (ii) the टीकाप्रस्थान or पञ्चपादिकाप्रस्थान or better as विवरणप्रस्थान and, (iii) the भामतीप्रस्थान. The work under review belongs to the पञ्चपादिका school.

The *Pāñca-Pādikā*, in spite of its slightly misleading title, discusses, according to the available MSS. only चतुःसूत्री. The विवरण of प्रकाशात्ममुनि, the most celebrated gloss on the work, shows great originality in elucidation and is therefore naturally widely read, studied and commented upon. Need was perhaps felt to summarize the various chief tenets and arguments of this school contained in the numerous commentaries on the "पञ्चपादिका" and on the "विवरण" and the work under review is the most authoritative and standard among such works, and is attribute to भारतीतीर्थ whose claim to the authorship of the V P S is discussed in the short but scholarly introduction by the

editors. The work has been variously named in Oppert's lists and Appayya Dīkṣita's reference to this work seems to have led Prof. Das Gupta to understand a different text called भारतीतिर्थ's विवरणोपन्यास. Three authors are claimed for this work, Bhāratī-Tīrtha, Vidyāraṇya and Sāyaṇa. The editors accept भारतीतिर्थ's authorship while Mr. E. P. Radhakrishna seems to favour विद्यारण्य's claims.

An important feature of this edition is the "analytical table of contents," and the translation has been carefully done, and is generally reliable. The first four *Varṇakas* deal with the first *Sūtra*, 'अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा' and the discussion on *Adhyāsa* and the various *Kyātis* is worth reading in the original; it is very brilliant, and is strongly recommended to all. The fifth वर्णक treats the second *Sūtra*, the next two वर्णक explain the third *Sūtra* and lastly, the eighth and the ninth वर्णकs expound the fourth *Sūtra* bringing the work to a finish.

A subject-index to the text is wanting; it would have been a great help and would have facilitated reference. The भामती-चतुःसूत्री has been before the scholars for a long time. Here is another work of equal importance. The lovers of Vedanta should be thankful to the editors for their valuable addition to the available Vedanta works.

—G. N. DIKE.

Kannada Nāḍina Kathegaḷu (in Kannada) by Nārayana Sharmā. Size Crown 8 vo. Pp. 167. Price Re. 1. Published by Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar, Silver Jubilee Series No. 2. 1940.

This book consists of interesting and instructive stories of the illustrious kings, celebrated deplomats, great poets and pious and brave ladies of Karnatak. The stories, based on tradition and history, are chronologically arranged so that we get a brief and connected history of Karnatak from 300 B. C. to the end of the reign of Shrikrishna Odeyar of Mysore. The many illustrations of historical personages and cites enhance the value of the book.

—V. M. KOLHATKAR.

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Satkhandāgama (षट्खण्डागम्) of Puśpadanta with the Comm. Dhavala of Virasena ed. with Intro. Trans., Notes and Indexes by Prof. H. L. Jain. A monumental work of the Digambar Jain cannon. 5 Vols. Amraoti 1939–42. (Vol. VI nearly out and further in progress.) Per Volume Rs. 10

Tattwanyāya-vibhākara (तत्वन्यायविभाकर) of Vijayalabdhisuri with his own Sanskrit Comm. "Nyāyaprakāśa" and Tippanis. Chhani, 1943. Cl. D. Demi Pp. 8, 40, 616, 5. Rs. 6–4

VEDĀNTA

Āgamasās'tra of Gaudapādā edited with a transliterated text, translated and annoted with an exhaustive Introduction by Prof. V. Bhattacarya. In the present volume the author has given a new edition of the text of Āgamasastra based on a number of MSS. and different editions followed by an English translation. At the end there are appendixes including the text and Eng. trans. of the Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad, variants of the MSS. used for the edition of the text of the Āgamaśāstra and different Indexes. Calcutta 1943. Roy. Pp. cxlvi, 308. Rs. 4–8

Naiskarmya-siddhi (नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धि) of Sureśvarācārya with Marathi translation by MM. Sridhar Shastri Pathak. Amalner 1942. Roy. Pp. 8, 129. Rs. 1–4

Nāma-Rūpa and Dharma-Rūpa—Origin and Aspects of an Ancient Indian Conception—by Dr. Maryla Falk. An essay on the study of Ancient Indian structural ideologies. Calcutta 1943. Roy. Pp. ix, 222. Rs. 4

Philosophy of Vis'iṣṭādvaita by Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari- A critical and comprehensive survey of Viśiṣṭādvaita presented for the first time. Madras 1943. Demi Pp. 1, 642. Rs. 10

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Kālidāsa Kāvya Kusumanjali (कालिदासकाव्यकुसुमाञ्जलि) 108 Selections from Kālidāsa's works with English trans. Madras. Pocket-size. As. 8

Meghadūta in English Verse by Prof. D. C. Datta. The translation is far from literal, rather, for artistic effect, sense has, on occasion been subordinated to sound and a little elaboration permitted to close each stanza with dignity. Jaipur, 1943. Cr. Pp. iv, 52. Re. 1

Varṇa-ratnākara (वर्णरत्नाकर) of Jyotiriśvara Kaviśekharacharya. An early Maithili text ed. with English and Maithili Introductions and Index Verborum by Dr. S. K. Chatterji and Babua Misra. It is a sort of lexicon of Vernacular and Sanskrit terms, a repository of literary similes and conventions dealing with the various things in the world and ideas which are usually treated in Poetry. The work is in Prose. Calcutta 1940. Roy. Pp. lxiv, 8, 166. Rs. 5–8

VEDA

Atharvaveda Samhitā (अथर्ववेदसंहिता) Text critically edited with the help of Pandits and printed books by Pt. S. D. Satavalekar. Aundh, 1943. 2nd Ed. D. Cr. Pp. 23, 527. Rs. 5

THE POONA ORIENTALIST

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SOME NEW EVIDENCE REGARDING DEVABHAṬṬA MAHĀŚABDE, THE FATHER OF RATNĀKARA-BHAṬṬA, THE GURU OF SEVAI JAISING OF AMBER (A. D. 1699–1743)

By P. K. Gode, Poona

In my *paper*[1] on the *Aśvamedha* performed by Sevai Jaising of Amber (A. D. 1699–1743) I have reconstructed the following genealogy[2] of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa, the guru of Sevai Jaising and author of *Jayasiṁha-Kalpadruma* composed in A. D. 1713 :—

(1) देवभट्ट (of *Śāṇḍilya* gotra ; resident of Kāśī or Benares

(2) रत्नाकर (A. D. 1713) — प्रभाकर[3]

प्रभाकर: व्रजनाथ, गोकुलनाथ

(3) गंगाराम }
(4) रामेश्वर } at the Court of Mādhavasing, son of Sevai Jaising

(5) विश्वेश्वर (in his work प्रतापार्क calls himself "महाशब्दोपनामकः")[4]

1. Vide *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. II, 166–180.

2. Ibid, p. 173.

3. Vide my paper on Prabhākarabhaṭṭa in *Indian Culture*, Vol. V. pp. 293–296.

4. In verse 7 of प्रतापार्क Viśveśvara records both the gotra (शाण्डिल्य) and the Surname महाशब्द :—

"श्रीशाण्डिल्यमुनेः कुले किल महाशब्दोपनामाजनि"

Ratnākara nowhere gives us his surname महाशब्द revealed by his great grandson विश्वेश्वर in his work *Pratāpārka* though he mentions[1] (1) his gotra शाण्डिल्य, (2) his father's name देवभट्ट resident of Benares and (3) his family deity राम. Kṛṣṇa Kavi[2] Kalānidhi, a contemporary court-poet of Sevai Jaising mentions in his *Iśvaravilāsakāvya* (composed in A. D. 1744) that Ratnākara was a Ṛgvedi Brahmin and was a *guru* of Sevai Jaising. His brother Prabhākara generally resided at Mathurā and he had two sons व्रजनाथ and गोकुलनाथ.[3] The presence of all these members of Ratnākara's family, intensely religious and very well-read in the Śāstras had a healthy influence on Sevai Jaising, the protagonist of Hindu religion and culture during the period of the Mughal decline in India as we know from the life-history of Sevai Jaising, who resembles king Bhoja of Dhārā on account of his versatility and genius to a great extent.

The family of Ratnākara prospered at Jaipur since Ratnākara's contact with this illustrious prince. In fact Ratnākara as the *Rājaguru* held tremendous influence over the mind of the prince. Unfortunately no facts regarding the early history of Ratnākara's family have been revealed so far except the fact that Ratnākara's father देवभट्ट was a resident of Benares as stated by his son in his *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma*.

Since the publication of my papers referred to above I happened to read a निर्णयपत्र dated A. D. 1657 containing the

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1. Verse 27 at the beginning of the *Jayasiṁha-Kalpadruma* reads :—

" रामांघ्रिप्रवणः सुकर्मनिरतः शाण्डिल्यगोत्रोद्भवः
काशिस्थद्विजदेवभट्टतनयः सम्राट् सुविद्यान्वितः ।
संलब्धैर्धनसंचयैर्बहुविधैः सर्वान्क्रतून् आचरन् ॥
तत्प्रीत्यै व्रतकल्पशाखिनममुं निर्माति रत्नाकरः ॥ २७ ॥

2. Vide my paper on *Kṛṣṇakavi and His Descendants* (*B. I. S. Mandal Quarterly*, Poona, Vol. XXII, pp. 15–23).

3. Vide verses 8 and 9 of Chap. X of ईश्वरविलासकाव्य

" ऋग्वेदिविप्रप्रवरावतंसो रत्नाकरो नाम गुरुर्नृपस्य ।
प्रभाकरो नाम बभूव तस्य भ्राता सदा यो मथुरैकवासी ॥ ८ ॥
तदात्मजः श्रीव्रजनाथनामा तथापरो गोकुलनाथ उक्तः ।
तौ भ्रातरौ संनिहतौ नृपस्य निरंतरं शास्त्रकथां दधाते ॥ ९ ॥ "

names of many learned pandits of Benares. This निर्णयपत्र in a caste-dispute contains the endorsements of many Sanyāsins and other Brahmins belonging to *Mahārāṣṭṭa*, *Kārnāṭaka*, *Koṅkaṇa*, *Tailaṅga*, *Drāviḍa* and other classes of Brahmins, then residing at Benares. It was written by मीमांसक भट्टलक्ष्मण and had the full consent of the signatories of the document. It is already reproduced as an appendix to a Marathi book[1] published in 1926 but is not available to the students of Sanskrit literature. I am, therefore, giving it as an appendix to this paper in view of its importance to the history of Sanskrit authors who flourished in the middle of the 17th century. The following endorsement on this document of A. D. 1657 is noteworthy :—

" संमतं महाशब्दे देवभट्टस्य "

I feel no doubt that देवभट्ट महाशब्दे of the above endorsement is identical with देवभट्ट, the father of रत्नाकरभट्ट महाशब्द, the *guru* of Sevai Jaising. This endorsement further proves the truth of Ratnākara's statement : " काशिस्थ द्विजदेवभट्टतनयः " as applied to himself in A. D. **1713**. As Ratnākara completed a very big compendium on *dharmaśāstra* like the *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* in A. D. 1713, we may safely presume that he was an elderly personage of about 60 years at this time. As Devabhaṭṭa was living at Benares in A. D. **1657** with some status among his contemporaries, his son Ratnākara may have been either very young at this time or may have been born a little later after this time. We may, therefore, tentatively assign the father and the son to the following periods of time :—

A. D. 1610–1680—देवभट्ट महाशब्दे (endorsing a निर्णयपत्र in A. D 1657).

A. D. 1650–1720—रत्नाकर महाशब्दे (completed the जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम in A. D. 1713).

These periods are consistent with the difference of 56 years between the father's endorsement of A. D. **1657** and the son's completion of a big compendium on dharmaśāstra in A. D. **1713**.

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1. Vide pp. 78–81 of चितळेभट्ट प्रकरण by R. S. Pimputkar, Editor, *Ātmoddhāra*, Bombay, 1926—*Appendix 2.*—We must try to find evidence for identifying the names of Signatories to this document of *A.D. 1657*, especially those whose identity is not clear.

Ratnākara must have completed his studies at Benares before A. D. 1699 in which year Sevai Jaising came to the throne of Amber. After Jaising's coming to the throne Ratnākara may have been invited by the former to help him in his work of reviving Hindu religion, which ultimately resulted in the performance of the *Aśvameaha* at Jaipur. Kṛṣṇa Kavi in his *Īśvaravilāsa-kāvya* records the names of persons who were prominently present at this sacrifice but in this list no mention is made of the Rājaguru Ratnākarabhaṭṭa Mahāśabde. This omission may perhaps warrant an inference that Ratnākara may have been either too old to attend the sacrifice or must have died some years earlier than the date of the sacrifice, which I am inclined to assign to a period of Jaising's reign later than A. D. 1720 and obviously before A. D. 1743, the year of his death. The exact chronology of this *Aśvamedha* is still a matter for investigation.

The *Mahāśabdes* are *Ṛgvedi*, *Deśastha*, *Brahmins* of Mahārāṣṭra at present. Some ancestor of this family migrated to Benares early in the 17th century and resided there. He may be Devabhaṭṭa's father or grand-father. In the *Nirṇayapatra* of A.D. 1657 we find another महाशब्दे in the following endorsement:

" संमतं महाशब्दोपाख्य ज्योतिर्विदः"

ज्योतिर्विद् महाशब्दे in this endorsement is obviously different from देवभट्ट महाशब्दे the father of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa, whose endorsement occurs later on the same document. Perhaps he may be a cousin of देवभट्ट. At any rate it is proved that two persons of the surname महाशब्दे were living at Benares in A. D. 1657 and that they were respected persons in the Brahmin circles of the place as will be seen from their endorsements on the निर्णयपत्र under reference.

In a letter[1] of A. D. 1683 reproduced by Mr. Pimputkar we find a list of Brahmins of Benares who attended a dinner given by गोविंद दीक्षित चौधरी whom I have identified[2] with गोविंद चतुर्धर

1. Vide Appendix 3 to चितळेभट्ट प्रकरण, pp. 82-84.

2. Vide p. 155 of my paper on *Nīlakaṇṭhā Caturdhara and His Descendants* in the *Silver Jubilee* Volume of the *Annals* B. O. R. Institute, 1942, Vol. XXIII. Nīlakaṇṭha flourished between A. D. 1650 and 1700. He composed शिवताण्डवटीका in A. D. 1680 and गणेशगीताटीका in A. D. 1693. In

or चौधरी, the son of नीलकंठ चतुर्धर the celebrated commentator of the *Mahābhārata*. The last person in this list of A. D. **1683** is "शिवरामभट्ट महाशब्दे" of Benares. This person may have been a brother of देवभट्ट महाशब्दे the father of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa. His exact relation with देवभट्ट महाशब्दे needs, however, to be investigated on the strength of other contemporary evidence. It is, clear from these names of three members of the महाशब्दे family occurring in documents of A. D. 1657 and 1683 that this family was residing at Benares in the 17th century and later a branch of it migrated to Amber and settled there under royal patronage.

APPENDIX

A *Nirṇayapatra*[1] of Benares Brahmins dated Śaka 1579 = A. D. **1657.**

" मुक्तिमंडपांतील निर्णय शक १५७९; सन १६५७
॥ श्रीविश्वेश्वरो जयतेतराम् ॥

॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥

अथ देवर्षिविप्राणां काश्यां श्रीमुक्तिमंडपे ॥
यतिमिश्रविपश्चिद्भिः सद्ब्राह्मण्यं विविच्यते ॥ १ ॥

तत्र तावत्पूज्यपादपरमहंसपरिव्राजकमहाराष्ट्रकार्णाटककोंकणतैलंगद्राविडादिसकलज्ञातीयविद्वद्गृहस्थनिचयसंमत्या वेदशास्त्रलोकतो विमृश्य देवर्षिब्राह्मणा वेदशास्त्रपुराणेतिहासेभ्योधिगतपरमार्थाः ॥ ऋतुयजनयाजनादिसदाचरणशीलाः ॥ पंक्तिपावनाः शरीनान्वयार्हा अत्युत्तमब्राह्मण्यशालिनः ॥

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the letter of A. D. 1683 the son of नीलकंठ चौधरी viz. "गोविंद दीक्षित चौधरी" "is called son-in-law" of the addressee "नारायणदीक्षित वेदमूर्ति". We know from other evidence that गोविंददीक्षित चौधरी and his son शिवदीक्षित चौधरी were residents of Benares. शिवदीक्षित composed धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश in A. D. 1746 and his son गंगारामदीक्षित received a *Sanad* in the same year from King Shahu of Satara.

1. Prof. Cinnasvami Śāstri reproduces this *Nirṇaya*patra upto इति दिक् on pp. 2-3 of his edition of the मीमांसाकौस्तुभ of खण्डदेव (Nos. 419 and 420 of *Chokhamba Sanskrit Series*, 1933.) He does not, however, record the endorsements of contemporary Paṇḍits which are most important for students of history. (Vide my paper on the *Chronology of the Works* of *Khaṇḍadeva* in the *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume* 1939.) Khaṇḍadeva died in A. D. 1665. If this date is correct his signature on this document of A. D. 1657 is eight years before his death.

शेष्टानुष्ठितशरीरान्वयाश्चेति सिद्धांतितम् ॥ दृष्टं चैतत् ॥ भट्टमीमांसकश्रीमद्रघुनाथाख्यसूरिभिः मणिकर्णीत्युपाख्यस्यानंतभट्टस्य कन्यका ॥ देवर्षः[1] समुद्राह्य वाजपेययजिः कृता ॥ भूयांसश्चेदृशा अन्ये तद्वंशीया वयं च ते ॥ ब्रुवाणा दोषमत्रार्थे विद्वद्भिः परिशोधिते ॥ विश्वेशद्रोहिणो ब्रह्मघातिनश्च भवंति ते ॥ इति दिक् ॥

लिखितं चैतन्मीमांसकभट्टलक्ष्मणेन लिखितं विद्वदनुज्ञातेन ॥ ॥ संवति कृतकगाब्द १७१४ संमितौ नंदशैलशरभू १५७९ मितशाके ॥ हेमलंबवारदि समपत्रं ज्ञायते सकलभूसुरवृंदैः १ ॥ श्रीः ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

(1) संमतार्थोयं पूर्णेन्द्रसरस्वतीयतेः ।

(Cf. KC* 113-119—पूर्णानन्द ब्रह्मचारिन्)

(2) व्यासेन्द्रस्य संमतार्थः ।

(3) पत्रार्थे संमतं भट्टनीलकंठस्य ।

(4) संमतं चक्रपाणिपंडितशेषस्य ।

(K-C. 69, 100—चक्रपाणिपंडित

(5) संमतश्चार्थोयं आउवा शुक्लस्य ।

(6) संमतिरत्र काळोपनाम गोविंदभट्टस्य ।

(Cf. KC. 93— दामोदरभट्टकाल)

(7) संमतं बापुव्यासस्य ।

(8) संमतं मौनी गोपीभट्टस्य ।

(See No. 62) KC. 226—मौनी रंगनाथभट्ट)

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1. देवर्षि Brahmaṇas are *Devrukha* Brahmins. *Vide Bombay Gazetteer*, Vols. I, Part ii, X, XI, XII, XIII, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX and XXIV. Vide pp. 25-26 of Vol. II of *Indian Caste* by John Wilson, Bombay, 1877. The antiquity of this caste-name देवर्षि needs to be studied historically.

* KC = कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय ed. by Dr. H. D. Sharma and M. M. Patkar (Poona Oriental Series, Oriental Book Agency, Poona.)

No. 1—रामाश्रम mentions पूर्णेन्द्रसरस्वती in his work called दुर्जनमुखचपेटिका (Vide fol. 2a of MS No. 139 of 1891-95 in the Govt. MSS Library) श्रीकृष्णोपाध्याय mentions पूर्णेन्द्र and ब्रह्मेन्द्र in the कवीन्द्रचंद्रोदयः—

" विख्यातकीर्तिः पूर्णेन्द्रब्रह्मेन्द्राद्यभिनन्दितः ॥ १२ ॥ P. 2 (Poona, 1939)

No. 3.—Possibly same as नीलकंठभट्ट, son of शङ्करभट्ट and author of भगवन्तभास्कर etc. (Kane HD, I, 440. नीलकंठ's literary activity: *between 1610 and 1645* A. D.)

No. 4—Possibly identical with शेषचक्रपाणि, author of कारकविचार (Vide Aufrecht CCI, 662 and 95)

(9) संमतं रघुदेवभट्टाचार्यस्य।
(10) संमतार्थोऽयं दशपुत्रगोविंदभट्टस्य।
(11) अत्र संमतं विनायकशुक्लस्य। (See No. 29)
(12) संमतं टेंकाळोपाख्य बापुभट्टस्य।
(13) संमतश्चार्थोऽयं विद्वांसोपाख्य बाहिरवभट्टस्य।
(14) गणेशदीक्षितस्य च संमतम्।
(15) संमतं दातार विश्वनाथस्य।
(16) संमतं कोबाइ वासुदेवस्य।
(17) संमतं नारायणभट्ट आरडे इत्युपनाम्नः।
(18) संमतं गह्लार नृसिंहभट्टस्य।
(19) पायसोपाख्य नृसिंहभट्टस्य संमतम्।
(20) संमतं वढेरु तमणभट्टस्य।
(21) संमतं कुंडली घाऊभट्टस्य।
(22) संमतश्चार्थोऽयं ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वत्याख्ययते-नृसिंहाश्रमस्य।

(KC. p. 29,

No. 17—Cf. Aufrecht CCI, 292-This author is same as नारायणभट्ट आरड. (on of लक्ष्मीधर and author of गृह्याग्निसागर and प्रयोगसार. He quotes Bhaṭṭoji. Aufrecht states that गृह्याग्निसागर and प्रयोगसार are identical नारायणभट्ट also composed श्राद्धसागर (CC II, 63). He quotes निर्णयसिंधु A. D. 1612) in his प्रयोगसार, P. V. Kane (*Hist. of Dharma.* I, 707) makes him "*later than 1650* A. D." H. P. Shastri has described a MS of लक्षहोमकारिका of this author which is dated A. D. 1727 (*Notices*, 2nd Series III, P. 171).

No. 22—रामाश्रम mentions ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती in his work दुर्जनमुखचपेटिका (Vide fol. 2ᵃ of MS. No. 139 of 1891-95).

In the कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय (p. 24) there is the following reference to ब्रह्मेन्द्र and पूर्णेन्द्र :—

" ब्रह्मेन्द्रपूर्णेन्द्रयतीन्द्रवृन्दमुख्यैरशेषैरभिनन्द्यमानः "

Cf. p. 2 of कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय—

" विख्यातकीर्तिः पूर्णेन्द्रब्रह्मेन्द्राद्यभिनन्दितः "

P. 25—

" अमुना कवीन्द्रनाम्ना श्रीब्रह्मेन्द्रस्वाम्यनुगृहीतेन "

As नृसिंहाश्रम had another popular name ब्रह्मेन्द्र सरस्वती, his real name has not been used in the कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय. This नृसिंहाश्रम (or ब्रह्मेन्द्र-सरस्वती) is possibly identical with गोस्वामिनृसिंहाश्रम to whom a Sanskrit letter was addressed by Dara Shukoh (p. 93, *Adyar Lib. Bulletin*, Oct. 1940).

(23) संमतश्चार्थोऽयं अनंतदेवस्य ।

(Is he the author of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ ?)

(24) संमतार्थो गागाभट्टस्य ।

(Present at Shivaji's Coronation in A. D. 1674.)

(25) अस्मिन्नर्थे संमतं साम्राज्यपंडितस्य ।

(26) संमतं भय्याभट्टस्य । (KC, 61-62, 273-280)

(27) संमतं गोविंदभट्टाचार्यस्य ।

(28) संमतं बालकृष्णदीक्षितस्य ।

(29) संमतं शुक्लोपाख्यवीरेश्वरस्य । (See No. 11)

(30) संमतं कोरडे हरिशंकरस्य ।

(31) तुलसीदेवभट्टस्य संमतम् ।

(32) संमतं चंडीभैरवस्य ।

(33) संमतं मनोहर विश्वनाथस्य ।

(34) अप्पायादीक्षितस्य संमतोर्थोऽयम् ।

(35) रामह्रदस्थ धुंढिराजसंमतम् ।

(36) संमतं भास्करज्योतिर्विदः ।

(37) संमतं महाशब्दोपाख्यज्योतिर्विदः । (See No. 58)

(38) संमतं नगरकर कृष्णभट्टस्य ।

(39) संमतं वैशंपायन गिरिधरभट्टस्य ।

(40) संमतं खरोपनामक गणेशभट्टस्य ।

(41) संमतं गौतम रामभट्टस्य ।

(42) संमतं चिंतामणिभट्ट द्रोणस्य ।

(43) संमतं कविमंडन बालकृष्णभट्टस्य ।

(44) संमतं काळबांडे वीरेश्वरभट्टस्य ।

(45) संमतं पाटणकर विष्णुदीक्षितस्य ।

(46) संमतार्थः शिवरामतीर्थ नारायणतीर्थस्य च ।

No. 46—Vide my paper on the Date of भाट्टभाषाप्रकाशिका of नारायणतीर्थ, pupil of शिवरामतीर्थ (*Mīmāṅsa Prakāśa*, Vol. III, No. 6, pp. 65-71). I assigned नारायणतीर्थ to "*about 1650* A. D.". My surmise is corroborated by the present endorsement of A. D. *1657* by नारायणतीर्थ and his *guru* शिवरामतीर्थ. नारायणतीर्थ composed the भाट्टभाषाप्रकाशिका at Benares :—

" भगवच्छिवरामतीर्थशिष्यो मुनिनारायणतीर्थनामधेयः ।
व्यतनोदधिकाशि भाट्टभाषा प्रथनं भाट्टनयप्रवेशहेतोः ॥ १ ॥

(47) संमतोऽयमर्थः खंडदेवस्य । (author of मीमांसाकौस्तुभ etc.)
(48) संमतार्थो भट्ट अनंत मीमांसकस्य ।
(49) संमतं चात्र लक्ष्मणपंडित वैद्यस्य ।
(50) संमतं चैतन्माधवदेवस्य ।
(51) रामरामभट्टाचार्यस्य चार्थोऽयं संमतः ।
(52) रामहृदयस्य गोमाजीभट्ट संमतार्थः ।
(53) संमतार्थोऽयं डाउ गणेशदीक्षितस्य बापुदीक्षितस्य च
(54) संमतं पाळशेतकर ज्योतिर्विन्नारायणस्य ।
(55) संमतं दाभोळकर ज्योतिर्विद्विठ्ठलस्य ।
(56) संमतं भावे रुद्रदीक्षितस्य ।
(57) संमतं काशी सोमयाजिनो लक्ष्मणसोमयाजिनश्च ।
(53) संमतं महाशब्दे देवभट्टस्य । (See No. 37)
(59) संमतं पोळ काशीभट्टस्य
(Cf. " पोलगंगाधर " guru of नीलकंठ चतुर्धर.)
(60) अभिमतोऽर्थोऽयं सच्चिदानंदसरस्वत्याख्यस्य ।
(61) संमतोर्थोऽयं तिलभांडेश्वरस्य (KC p. 29)
(62) संमतोर्थोऽयं मौनी विष्णुदीक्षितस्य च । (See No. 8)

(*Continued*)

I have proved in my paper that this author was the *guru* of नीलकंठ चतुर्धर (चौधरी) in मीमांसा. The Jammu MS of भा. भा. प्रकाशिका is dated A. D. 1773. Nīlakaṇṭha's son गोविंद चौधरी presented a MS of this work to one नृसिंहशर्मा तोरो of पैठण.

No. 54—Cf. Raghunātha Joshi of पाळशेत who composed his मुहूर्तमाला at Benares in A. D. 1660. His father नृसिंह was a resident of Benares and got the title of " ज्योतिर्वित्सरस " from Akbar when Akbar conquered Aseri fort. केशव was the grandfather of रघुनाथ a Chitpāvan Brahmin of शाण्डिल्यगोत्र. (Vide p. 474 of S. B. Dixit : *Histry of Indian Astronomy*, Poona, 1896)

No. 59—One " काशीभट्ट पोहळ " was present at the dinner of A.D. 1683. He appears to be identical with " पोळ काशीभट्ट ".

No. 62—वरदराज the pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita refers to तिलभाण्डेश्वर as the name of a locality (Vide गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी MS *No. 395 of 1899-1915*—folios 16-17). तिलभाण्डेश्वर who is a contributor to the कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय is possibly the same as his name sake in this निर्णयपत्र of A. D. 1657.

(63) पत्रार्थे संमतिर्नरहरिदीक्षितस्य विष्णुदीक्षितस्य च।
(64) लक्ष्मणदीक्षितस्य संमतोऽर्थः।
(65) संमतोर्थो दीनदीक्षितस्य नमूदीक्षितस्य च।
(66) संमतं वाछाभट्टस्य।
(67) संमतं चैतत् पौराणिकगदाधरस्य।
(68) संमतार्थोऽयं जयराम न्यायपंचाननस्य। (KC. 41–44)
(69) संमतं भारद्वाज महादेवस्य।
(70) संमतं पोटे महादेवभट्टस्य।
(Present at dinner given by गोविंद दीक्षित चौधरी in 1683 A.D.)

No. 68.—Possibly identical with जयराम न्यायपञ्चानन भट्टाचार्य pupil of रामभद्र भट्टाचार्य (Vide Aufrecht *CCI*, p. 201). Dr. S. K. De (p. 177 of *Sanskrit Poetics*, I, 1923), places जयराम between the " beginning of the 16th century " and " the beginning of the 18th century ". Dr. H. D. Sharma and M. M. Patkar place जयराम " *near about 1632* " (Vide p. 5 of their Intro. to कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय, Poona, 1939). This dating seems to have been corroborated by जयराम's endorsement on the निर्णयपत्र of A. D. **1657.**

No. 70—" महादेवभट पोटे " is a witness to a दत्तकपत्र (of A. D. 1674) prepared by the widow of प्रभाकरभट आर्वीकर, the उपाध्याय of Kings Shahaji and Shivaji the Great. Among other signatories we may mention (1) गागाभट्ट (No. 11), (2) केशवभट शृंगारपुरकर who is possibly the author of the राजारामचरित edited by V. S. Bendre, and (3) जयराम who may be the same as जयराम पिंड्ये, author of the राधामाधवविलासचंपू, a poetical biography of Shahaji, (Vide p. 68, of शिवाजीनिबंधावली, Poona, 1930).

SANSKRIT POET GAṆAPATI II

By Prof. Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, Calcutta

The verses of one Gaṇapati have been quoted in the Subhāṣitāvalī as well as Sad-ukti-karṇāmṛta, but this poet must be distinguished from our later poet of the same name who seems to be identical with Bhānukara's father. The Padya-veṇī quotes one verse attibuted to both Gaṇapati and Bhānukara (verse 665) and another verse (verse 789) attributed to Bhānukara, son of Gaṇapati. Again there is one verse, अलक्षित-कुचाभोगं etc., which is attributed to Gaṇapati in the Padya-veṇi (verse 540) and to Bhānukara in the Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa (verse 713) and Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya (verse 113). All the later anthologies quote Gaṇapati's verses, thus establishing beyond doubt that Bhānukara as well as his father were poets of repute.

In one of the verses preserved in the Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya,[1] Gaṇapati addresses poet Lolimba as follows :—

किन्तु व्योम्नि विभाति रौप्य-रचितं चन्द्र-युतेर्वाजिनः
पादत्राणमिदं पदाद्विगलितं तत् सौम्य जानीमहे ॥

This is really a different version of the text :—

भो लोलिम्बराज कुरु प्रणमनं किं स्थीयते स्थाणुवत्
कस्मै भोजनृपात-बालशशिने नायं शशी वर्तते ।
किं तद्व्योम्नि विभाति चास्तसमये चन्द्र-युतेर्वाजिनः
पादत्राणमिदं जवाद्विगलितं तत् सौम्य जानीमहे ॥

This second version indicates that the author of the verse was a contemporary of King Bhoja and as such, this version

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1. Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya 196.

भो लोलिम्बकवे[2] कुरु प्रणमनं किं स्थीयते स्थाणुवत्
कस्मै काम-नृपाल-बाल-शशिने नायं शशी वर्तते ।

2. Probably, same as Lolambrāja, son of Divākara and descendant of Sūrya Paṇḍita. Lolambarāja or Lolimbarāja was the author of the *Hara-vilāsa* (published in the Kāvya-mālā, part xi, pp. 94–133 ; see also Tanjore catalogue, vi, 2814) and the Sundara-Dāmodara not published as yet (for MS., see catalogue of MSS. in Adyar Library, II. 16). His Ayurvedic works, viz., Vaidya-jīvana, Vaidyāvataṃsa. etc., deserve unconditional praise for lucidity of style and exhaustive treatment of the subjects concerned in a condensed form.

cannot naturally be the composition of our Gaṇapati. If at all this verse was composed by his name-sake who flourished several centuries earlier than him and some of whose verses are preserved in the earlier anthologies.

In one verse he praises very highly one Gaṇeśvara Kavi.[1] Gaṇeśvara and Gaṇapati are identical in sense and one naturally wonders if this verse really refers to the poet himself.

Gaṇapati whose verses have been quoted in the Saduktikarṇāmṛta, Sūkti-muktāvali and Subhāṣitavalī cannot be the same as Bhānukara's father Gaṇapati whose verses have been quoted in the later anthologies. Bhānukara flourished in the first-half of the sixteenth century and his father flourished a bit earlier whereas the Sadukti-karṇāmṛta was composed in 1205 A. D.,[2] the Sūkti-muktāvali in the 13th century A. D.[3] and the

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1. गणेश्वर–कवेर्वचो विरचनैक–वाचस्पतेः
प्रसन्न–गिरिनन्दिनी–चरण–पल्लव–ध्यायिनः ।
तथा जयति भारती भगवती यथा सा सुधा
मुधा भवति सुभ्रुवामधर-माधुरी म्लायति ॥ PV. 788

2. The date of the work is, as given in the work itself, 1127 Saṃvat or 1205 A. D.

3. Jalhaṇa and his father Lakṣmīdhara flourished during the reign of King Kṛṣṇa of Kashmir. The royal line is as follows ;—

मल्लुगि
|
मिल्लमः (1187–1191 A. D.)
|
जैत्रपालः (1191–1210 A. D.)
|
सिंघणः (1210–1247 A. D.)
|
जैतुगिः
|
कृष्णः (1247–1260 A. D.) — महादेवः

Subhāṣitāvalī in its present form about the 15th century A. D.[1] As none of the later anthological manuscripts containing the verses of Gaṇapati the second has yet been published, a classified list of his verses so far as available is given here.

1. Gods

1. *Śiva* : Padyāmṛta-taraṅginī 19 = Padya-veṇī 19, मल्ली-माल्य-श्रिया, etc.

2. The King

1. *The sword of the King*: Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī 88 = Padya-veṇī 142 = Sūkti-sundara 435, भूभृन्मौलि-तटीषु.
2. *The fame of the King* : Padya-veṇī 89 = Sūktī-sundara 95,

3. Women and Love

1. *Separation* : Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī 169, तस्यास्तनौ.
   ,, Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa 743, वीणामंके कथमपि।
2. *Sportive dalliances* :
   Jala-keli : Kañcukottāraṇa : Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya 66, Pādya-veṇī 543, अंसेन कर्णं, etc.
   ,, Subhāṣita-sāra-sammuccaya 68 = Padya-veṇī 544, निरीक्ष्य, etc.
   Bhramari-krīḍa : Padya-veṇī 539, 67, या सखीनां.
   ,, ,, 540, अलक्षित-कुचाभोगे, etc.

Jalhaṇa gives his own lineage as follows, in the Introductory part of his work :—

दादाः
- महीधरः
  - अनन्तः
- जल्हः
- साम्बः
- गंगाधरः
  - जनार्दनः
    - लक्ष्मदेवः
      - जल्हणः

1. Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda quotes the Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva in 1160 A. D. in his commentary on the Amara-koṣa. The present edition of Peterson, however, betrays interpolations.

Kanduka-krīḍa : Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya 93 = Padya-veṇī 527, भ्रमच्चरण॰
,, : Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya, 94 = Padya-veṇī 528, सानन्द॰

3. *Features* :
Eyes : Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa 82, नतभ्रुवोर्लोचन॰
Breasts : ,, 60, मध्योऽयं वलि॰
Waist : Padyaveṇī 207, बद्धा वयो मां, etc.
Romāvalī : Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa 138 = Padyaveṇī 203, पयोधरस्तावदयं, etc.

4. Season

1. *The Spring* : Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya 285 = Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa 618, स्थलकमल॰

5. Nature

1. *Midday* : Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya, 59–60.
2. *Morning* : ,, 14.
3. *Moon-rise* : ,, 195-196.
4. *Stars* : ,, 185 = Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa 374.
5. *The spot of the moon* : Padyaveṇī 583.

6. Miscellaneous

1. *Forest* : Padyaveṇi 661, इह महिष॰
2. *Penance-grove* : ,, 665, तपोवने केसरिणा, etc.
3. *Stately Mansion* : Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya 263–264, विपीय पीयूष॰ and यत्रालसा, etc.
,, ,, : Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya 267, Padyaveṇī 59, लग्न: सौध॰।

Gaṇapati belonged to a family which could boast of a succession of leading Sanskrit scholars. In the Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī, the verses of Gaṇapati's uncle (or father ?) Śaṃkara Miśra, Gaṇapati himself and his son Bhānukara or Bhānudatta have been quoted. The father was not as great a poet as the son; still, his verses are worth preserving as is evident from the anthologies.

137 ŚABDĀRṆAVA

BY

SAHAJAKĪRTI (About 1630 A. D.)

By M. M. Patkar, Poona

The Śabdārṇava otherwise known as *Siddhaśabdārṇava* is a small. Sanskrit lexicon composed by a Jain author named Sahajakīrti. The work is divided into different sections called the *adhikāras* viz. 1. Jainādhikāra, 2. dyurādhikāra, 3. narakādhikāra, 4. Śastrādhikāra, 5. Kṣatriyādhikāra, 6. Vaiṣyādhikāra, 7. Śūdrādhikāra and so on.

In the opening stanza of the work the author states that he composed his lexicon which dealt with vocables along with their genders.[1] He divides the nouns into the following seven classes: masculine, feminine, neuter, non-neuter, non-masculine non-feminine and nouns having three genders. The nouns are further subdivided into three categories viz.: *rūḍha*, *yaugika* and *miśra*. The author being himself a Jain starts with the synonyms of Tīrthaṅkara and gives nineteen synonyns for him.

Among the different classifications given by the author the one which enumerates the names of various weapons and known as the *śastrādhikāra* is very important. It supplies us with the names of several weapons and *arms* (?) that were probably current at the time of our author.

Sahajakīrti was a Jain. He was the pupil of Hemanandanagaṇi and belonged to the Kharataragaccha line of priests.

The following works are ascribed to Sahajakīrti :—

1. Kalpamañjari. This is a commentary on the Kalpasūtras and was composed in Saṁvat 1685 (A. D. 1629) while Jinarāja was the head of the Kharataragaccha.[2]

2. Avyayavṛtti.[3]

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1. स्मृत्वा सर्वज्ञमात्मार्थं सिद्धशब्दार्णवोजिनात् ।
 सलिङ्गानिर्णयं नामकोशं सिद्धं स्मृतिं नये ॥ १ ॥

2. R. G. Bhandarkar : *Report for 1882-83*, p. 41.

3. Ms. No. 1359 of 1887-91 at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

3. Sārasvataprakriyāvārttika. This is a commentary on the Sārasvata-prakriyā and was composed in A.D. 1623.[1]

Besides the works mentioned above Sahajakīrti is also said to have composed in A. D. 1627 a poem in praise of the image of Pārśvanātha at Lodhrapura.[2]

The dates of the several works ascribed to Sahajakīrti enable us to fix the period of his literary activity. The earliest of his works viz. Sārasvataprakriyāvārttika was composed in A. D. 1623, while the last viz. the Kalpamañjari seems to have been composed in A. D. 1629 as shown above. We may, therefore, assign his lexicon and other works to the period 'about 1630 A. D.'.

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1. S. K. Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 100.
2. *A. S. B. Deo, Cat.* Vol. VI, Intro. p. cxlv.

A NOTE ON THE CHANGE OF 'P' TO 'H' IN KANARESE

By G. H. Khare, Poona

The Problem of the change of *p* in old Kanarese to *h* in medieval and modern Kanarese is a very interesting one. Dr. A. N. Narasimhia in his 'Grammar of the oldest Kanarese inscriptions' remarks thus : Uptill the end of the 9th century, *p*- is preserved. In the 10th century forms with *h*- in place of *p*- begin to appear in all parts of the Kanarese area. The *h*- forms are more in evidence in prose, particularly where the boundaries of lands granted are described. In verse it is always *p*- that is predominant and very few *h*- forms are found. This is not uniform in all areas. The change of -*p*- to *v*- is found in the earliest inscriptions.[1]

From these findings as well as the absence of the treatment of this problem in detail in early old Kanarese grammars, it is obvious that upto the tenth century of the Christian era *p*- or -*p*- was never changed to *h*- or -*h*-.

But as against this practice in vogue, I wish to record here one instance where -*p*- is changed to -*h*- in the eighth century A. D. It comes from a copper-plate grant of Cālukya Vikramāditya II of Badāmī dated Śaka 664 *i. e.* 742 A. D. While describing the conditions of the village Naravaṇa granted it states :

यत्किञ्चिद्र(द्र)व्यं अंबाडग्रामदेयं(य)मारुहणादि राजपुरुषेभ्यो ददाति तदर्धंनरवणदेयं[2]......

Here the word 'Āruhaṇa' stands for a certain tax of six *paṇas*, the dues of which were to be paid to the government officers. This very word occurs in a slightly different form in another copper-plate grant of Śilāhāra Gaṇḍarāditya dated Śaka 1037 or 1115 A. D. The pertinent sentence runs thus :—

1. Pp. 1–3.

2. B. I. S. Mandala Quarterly Vol. X, No. 1, p. 14 with two minor corrections.

अंकुलगोड्याप्पेयवाड इति ग्रामद्वयं आदगोनाम ग्रामस्य प्रविष्टं कृत्वा तद्ग्रामारुवणं त्यक्त्वा[1]......

Here the word Āruvaṇa also stands for a tax of six *paṇas* to be collected from the village or villages.[2]

Both the charters are genuine and their characters are completely identical with those of other Genuine grants of the respective periods. It is, therefore, unlikely that they might have been drafted and engraved at a later date. Consequently there is little possibility of a later form being included in these earliar grants.

Dr. Narasimhia records some instances of the 7th century where *-p-* has been changed to *-v-*. It is, therefore, no wonder if we get the form Āruvaṇa in a grant of the 12th century. But as the charter of the 8th century is perfectly genuine from the points of characters, pedigree, date, historical information, etc. the instance is a peculiar one for which reason I have recorded it here.

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1. Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan Vol. I, p. 40.

2. Instances can be easily cited where Sanskrit *paṇa* is transfermed into *vaṇa* or *haṇa* in old, medieval and modern Kanarese respectively.

TWO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY WORKS ON BHĀSA*

By Dr. A. D. Pusalker, M.A., Ph.D.

It was with the idea of being able to throw some light on the Bhāsa problem as also to find some startling facts that I turned to the references to Bhāsa in two seventeenth century writers. The result, however, is not definite as anticipated. These writers confirm the views hitherto held by many scholars, most of whom believe in Bhāsa's authorship of the so-called Trivandrum plays, regarding the part played by anthology verses in the elucidation of the Bhāsa problem.

Prof. Gode with his usual thoroughness and precision has assigned these works to the 17th century in his learned articles[1] where he has given a list of authors mentioned in these works. For the actual transcription of the stanzas my obligations are due to Prof. Gode who supplied quotations from the *Padyaracanā* the book being not available to me; and to Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri who sent me the quotation from the only available MS of the *Sabhyālamkaraṇa* which has been lent out to him from the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute.[2]

The *Padyaracanā* (Kāvyamālā, 89, N. S. Press, Bombay 1908, pp. 35, 78) mentions the following stanzas to be from Bhāsa :

दयिताबाहुपाशस्य कुतोऽयमपरो विधिः ।
जीवयत्यर्पितः कण्ठे मारयत्यपवर्जितः ॥ भासस्य ॥ पृ० ३५
तीक्ष्णं रविस्तपति नीच इवाचिराढ्यः
शृङ्गं रुरुस्त्यजति मित्रमिवाकृति(त)ज्ञः ।
तोयं प्रसीदति मुनेरिव चित्तवृत्तिः
कामं दरिद्र इव शोषमुपैति पङ्कः ॥ भासस्य ॥ पृ. ७८

The *Sabhyālamkaraṇa* (fol. 25b) quotes the following stanza from Bhāsa :

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* Paper read at the Twelfth All-India Oriental Conference held at Benares in December 1943.

1. *JOR*, Vol. XIV, Pt. III; *NIA*, Vol. IV, No. 11.
2. *MS*. No. 417 of 1884–87.

कपाले मार्जारः पय इति कराँल्लेढि शशिन-
स्तरुच्छिद्रप्रोतान् बिसमिति करी सङ्कलयति ।
रतान्ते तल्पस्थान् हरति वनिताप्यंशुकमिति
प्रभामत्तश्चन्द्रो जगदिदमहो विप्लवयति ॥ भासस्य ॥

It is indeed unfortunate that none of the above stanzas occur in the printed texts of Bhāsa. The omission or absence does not, however, seem to be so fatal to the authenticity of the plays of Bhāsa, as it would appear at first sight.[1] The absence of the anthology verses from the printed texts of Bhāsa can be satisfactorily accounted for. The two works, from which citations have been given above, are also works of anthology.

These anthologies, in the first place, are not absolutely trustworthy or reliable. They were composed after the 14th cent., *i. e.*, after 1800 years after Bhāsa, when MSS were rare, printing was unknown, and knowledge was transmitted by word of mouth, memory being the means of retaining knowledge. Naturally, therefore, the evidence of the anthologists cannot be stated to be conclusive by itself regarding the genuineness of the particular work. Again, numerous instances can be found in the anthologies, where names of the authors have been frequently misquoted, and the same verse has been ascribed to different authors.[2] Even in the anthology verses ascribed to Bhāsa can be found instances in point. For example, the stanza दयिता-बाहुपाशस्य etc. ascribed to Bhāsa by the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (and now by the *Padyaracanā*) has been ascribed to Kalaśaka by the *Subhāṣitāvali* and to Śyāmala by the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* ;[3] the stanza कपाले मार्जरः । etc., has been quoted as from Bhāsa by the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* and *Subhāṣitāvali* (as also by the *Sabhyālaṁkaraṇa*), whereas the *Sūktimuktāvali* asccribes it to Rājaśekhara ;[4] the stanza पेया सुरा etc., ascribed to Bhāsa in the *Yaśastilaka*[5] is actually found in the *Mattavilāsa*[6] of

1. cf. Winternitz, *CR*, December 1924, p. 346 ; Hirananda Sastri, *MASI*, 28, p. 27.
2. cf. *Bhāsa–A Study*, pp. 111–1?; Paranjape, *Pratimā*, Intr. pp. xxx–xiii.
3. *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, No. 3330 ; *Subhāṣitāvali*, No. 1529.
4. *Śārṅgadhara*°, No. 3640 ; *Subhāṣitāvali*, No. 1994.
5. N. S. Ed.
6. TSS. No. 55, p. 7, v. 7.

Mahendravikramavarman, so that its ascription to Bhāsa is clearly wrong.

It is to be noted, further, that even one of the verses ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa in the *Subhāṣitāvali*, and some of the verses ascribed to Kālidāsa are not found in the extant works of these two authors.[1] The absence is not taken any serious notice of in their case, and naturally, the same reasoning and considerations should apply to the case of Bhāsa also.

Along with the mistakes, inaccuracies and oversight of the anthologists, we have also to consider the liberties which copyists have taken with Bhāsa's works. It is found that copyists often omitted verses and passages altogether through oversight or ultra-cleverness. A clever copyist, with the best of intentions, often purposely omitted passages to which objections had been taken in literary works, or which, according to the copyist, were liable to some criticisms ; sometimes he even added to or altered the text. Bhāsa's plays have all along been subjected to these processes, and naturally are at some variance with the original works as left by Bhāsa. Even Shakespeare's plays have suffered from additions, omissions and alterations in these comparatively modern times and in such a comparatively small country as England after printing was known.

Absence of verses ascribed to Bhāsa by anthologists from his works as now printed, therefore, is not a serious argument against the authenticity of the plays. Granting, however, the accuracy of the anthologists, it may be urged, with some degree of plausibility that the quotations in the anthologies may be from some further plays or poems by Bhāsa now lost to us. Bhāsa is reputed to have written a number of plays, which have variously been put at 23 or 30, besides a poem and a work on dramaturgy ;[2] and the plays hitherto recovered form only a part of his writings. Hence it is quite likely that the quotations taken by the anthologists may be from these works not extant at present.

There is also another probability of these quotations being from the lost versions or recensions of the printed texts themselves. In addition to the *Śākuntala*, *Mahānāṭaka*, etc., we may

1. cf. Sukthankar, *JBBRAS*, 1925, p. 129 ; Sankar, *AMV*, 2, p. 44.

2. cf. *Bhāsa–A Study*, pp. 106–111 ; *Kṛṣṇa Carita*, Gondal 1914, pp. 2, 25–31.

cite these Bhāsa plays themselves, where some MSS present somewhat different texts.[1] There is nothing at present, however, to postulate even a different version in the case of Bhāsa's plays; the find of a separate recension in future, if at all, will be of immense value in solving many an intricate problem of the Bhāsa riddle.

With these prefatory remarks about the evidentiary value of the anthology verses, let us turn to the three stanzas which have been quoted by the 17th century works.

It will be seen that the stanza दयिता बाहुपाशस्य etc. has already been ascribed to Bhāsa by the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*; whereas the *Subhāṣitāvali* ascribes to Kalaśaka, and the *Sadudktikarṇāmṛta* to Śyāmala of Kashmir.[2] The author of the *Padyaracanā* possibly had the *Śārṅgadhara°* before him, as the second verse ascribed by him to Bhāsa also happens to be in the *Śārṅgadhara°* under the name of Bhāsa. The problem of the anthology verses has been specially considered by Dr. Sarup,[3] Dr. Thomas,[4] Dr. Weller[5] and the present writer.[6] In the opinion of Dr. Sarup, those verses may be taken to be from Bhāsa about which there is unanimity among the anthologists.[7] As the *Subhāṣitāvali* and *Sadukti°* ascribe the present stanza to different authors, Dr. Sarup regards it as of doubtful authorship. Dr. Thomas, however, is inclined to believe in Bhāsa's authorship of the verse, as it shows resemblance with Harṣa's *Ratnāvali* where the comparison of the mistress' arms to the hangman's noose is worked out,[8] and Dr. Thomas draws particular attention to the close similarity between Bhāsa and the Harṣa dramas. The verse may have come from Bhāsa; but it cannot find any place in the present circle of the Bhāsa plays. In a beautiful Virodhālaṁkāra, it shows the diametrically opposite nature of the noose in the form of the beloved's arms;

1. cf. *Bhāsa–A Study*, p. 111; Stein, *IHQ*, XIV, pp. 445–46.
2. See n. 5 earlier; also *Bhāsa–A Study*, p. 112.
3. *Vision of Vāsavadattā*, Intr. pp. 2–6.
4. *JRAS*, 1928, pp. 883–5.
5. *Festgabe Jacobi*, pp. 114–125.
6. *Bhāsa–A Study*, pp. 44–5, 111–7; *Bhāsa*, pp. 106–13.
7. *Vision of Vāsavadattā*, Intr. p. 4.
8. *JRAS*, 1928, p. 884.

entwined round the neck, it restores life, whereas when removed, it takes away life.

The next stanza, तीक्ष्णं रविस्तपति etc. has been unanimously ascribed to Bhāsa by the earlier anthologists,[1] and hence Dr. Sarup accepts the authorship of Bhāsa in the case of this stanza. Dr. Weller draws attention to a stanza from the *Avimāraka* which bears a close resemblance to this verse :[2]

> असितजलदवृन्दैर्मिश्रसन्दिग्धशृङ्गो
> गगनचरकुलानां विश्रमस्थानभूतः ।
> सुकविमतिविचित्रो मित्रसंयोगहृद्यो
> नरपतिरिव नीचो दृश्यते निष्फलाढ्यः ॥

It may also be observed that echoes of some of the ideas and expressions in this stanza may be found in *Cārudatta*, I. 26 (*kṛśīkṛto, nidāghasaṁśuṣka iva hrado, śuṣyati*) *Pañcarātra*, I. 6, 7, 12, 14, 18 (*vṛṣala, nīca*, etc.), *Cārudatta*, I. 28, (*kupruṣasya*), *Pañcarātra*, I. 15, 16 (*vibhavānām parikṣayāt, naraḥ kṣīṇaḥ*), etc. Dr. Thomas, in addition draws attention to the simile of the "*nouveau riche*", and the word 'āḍhya' (rich), which seems to be favourite with the author of the so-called Trivandrum plays.[3] I see no reason to doubt the authorship of Bhāsa, the author of the plays, regarding this stanza. It is a description of summer expressed in a series of beautiful similes. The simile of a man made newly rich is heightened in its effect by being qualified by the term 'low-caste man', and aptly describes the fierceness of the sun; the other objects of comparison chosen by the poet, *viz.* ungrateful man and his friend, sage and his inner consciousness, and poor lover and his beloved, show the same keen observation of humanity and nature, and the same word echoes that are met with in our Bhāsa plays. This stanza can well find suitable context in the descriptions in the IVth Act of the *Avimāraka*. In the opinion of Dr. Thomas, this stanza is a proof positive of Bhāsa's authorship of the printed plays, becaus the latter are found to contain echoes of the genuine Bhāsa verse.[4]

1. *Śārṅgadhara*°, No. 3907; *Subhāṣitāvali*, No. 1821.
2. *Festgabe Jacobi*, pp. 117, 120-22.
3. *JRAS*, 1928, pp. 884-5. 4. *JARS*, 1928, pp. 884-5.

The last stanza, कपाले मार्जारः etc. etc. describes the mischief wrought by the rays of the moon, intoxicated by its splendour, in a fine Bhrāntimadalaṁkāra. The *Śārngadhara*° and *Subhāṣitāvali*,[1] in addition to the *Sabhyālaṁkāraṇa*, ascribe the stanza to Bhāsa, but the *Sadukti*° ascribes it to Rājaśekhara, which may be a mistake, as we find parallel ideas in Bhāsa's works. The description of the moon and its white rays is a favourite topic with Bhāsa. Instances may be found in the *Svapna*, IV. 7 (*śarac chaśāṅka gaureṇa*), *Cārudatta*, I. 28 (*śaśāṅkah ... kṣīradhārāḥ*), *Bālacarita*, V. 9 (*śaśinibhamūrti*), etc. The tricks played by the moon with the cat, the elephant and a damsel, when its rays cast their resplendence on different objects in succession are beautifully expressed in the stanza. This general description of the moon can find place in any of the plays, where rays of the moon come in.

Dr. Weller suggests that the anthologists ascribed the verses to Bhāsa as they felt the spirit of Bhāsa's poetry in them ;[2] but this seems to be far-fetched. We agree with Dr. Keith that " it is commonsense to assume that the ascriptions are correct."[3]

These seventeenth century anthologies, thus, show that they based their citations on earlier anthologies ; that the stanzas cited may have come from Bhāsa, though not necessarily from the plays hitherto extant ; and that even the printed texts of Bhāsa's plays may have contained some of these stanzas.

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1. See n. 6 above.
2. *Festgabe Jacobi*, p. 125.
3. *HSL*, Preface, p. XVI.

LEGAL RELATIONS BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES IN ANCIENT INDIA

By Dr. Ludwik Sternbach, University Lwow, Krakow (Poland)

(*Continued from P. O. VIII, 1 & 2*)

II. CONTRACTS OF SERVICE BETWEEN THE EMPLOYERS AND THE INDIVIDUAL EMPLOYEES

4A. It was mentioned above that according to the general rules contained both in the Dharmaśāstras and Arthaśāstras, the service to be done by the employees could be of different kinds, and therefore it was not to be limited to field-labour, to carrying things and so on.

Regarding the wages due to the employees it must be pointed out that special rules existed which regulated this question, if the contract of service did not contain express stipulations. Firstly the stipulations contained in the contract are decisive. That is expressed clearly twice in Kaut.[1],[2]. The contract may also contain stipulations regarding the time in which the wages are to be paid. According to this rule the parties were able to determine, whether the wages were to be paid at the commencement, in the middle or at the conclusion of the work agreed on.[3]

The Dharmaśāstras and the Arthaśāstras also contain rules concerning the scale of wages due to the employees for the service done by them, when the contract does not contain any stipulation about this question. Regarding this question we find two answers: one general rule and the other a special and rather a casuistic answer. According to Kaut. and Y.[4] the amount shall be fixed in proportion to the work done and the time spent in doing it.[5] A similar rule about the wages due for the labour of the workmen (when there is no stipulation in the contract) is to be found in Nār.[6] According to Nār. the wages due for the servants' labour are fixed in proportion to the skill and to the

1. K. III. ch. 13.
2. See N. VI—2 and other.
3. N. VI—2.
4. K. III. ch. 13. Y. II—196.
5. See K. II. ch. 24.
6. N. V—22.

value of their services. It is obvious from these passages that—although Kaut. and Nār. make use of different expressions—the sources of law mentioned above regulated the wages for the labour done according to the principle : " As much work a man does so much will be his wages."

B. As already mentioned, the sources of law regulate casuistic cases too where the wages due are *a priori* stipulated in controversial questions. There is the question of cultivators of the soil, of herdsmen and of traders.[1] According to Kaut. the cultivator shall obtain 1/10th of the crops grown.[2] An identical prescription is to be found in Nār.[3] However, Bṛh. first generally states that the cultivator shall receive a share of the grain,[4] but indicates in another passage more precisely that a third or a fifth of the produce shall be awarded to the cultivator of the soil as his share.[5] The cultivator to whom food and clothing is given receives a fifth of the crop, and he who serves in consideration of the profit alone receives a third part of the grain produced.[6],[7] From these rules concerning the scale of the wages due to the cultivator it may be concluded what kinds of contracts of service, as regards the scale of wages, could be agreed upon. Therefore, irrespective of the fact whether the contract of service was concluded either for a fixed or for an uncertain period of time, or for executing a certain work, it might be agreed that the total wages for the service done by the employee had to be paid in cash in proportion to the profit gained, or partly in proportion to the profit and partly in the shape of food and clothing.

A casuistic rule is to be found in another passage of Kaut.[8] According to this rule food shall be supplied by the Superintendent of Agriculture to watchmen, slaves and labourers in proportion to the amount of work done by them. Besides this they shall be paid a *paṇa* and a quarter per mensem.

1. See Bṛh. XVI—11. 2. K. III. ch. 13. 3. N. VI—3.
4. Bṛh. XVI—11. 5. Bṛh. XVI—12,13.
6. If he receives food and clothing besides the wages—$\frac{1}{5}$th part.
7. If he does not receive food and clothing besides the wages—$\frac{1}{3}$rd part.
8. K. II. ch. 24.

According to Kaut.,[1] the herdsman has to get, as reward for his service, the tenth part of the butter gained, and according to Nār.[2] he has to take a tenth part of the butter received[3]. Nār.[4] explains this rule in another place and indicates that where the amount of the wages between the owner of the herd and the herdsman has not been fixed, the wages depend on the quantity of the herd. So a herdsman has to receive every year as wages for tending a hundred cows—a heifer; for tending two hundred cows—a milch-cow, and besides this in both cases he was allowed to milk all the cows which he attended every eight days. A similar rule is found in Bṛh.[5] According to this rule a man hired for attendance on milch-cows of another shall receive all the milk every eighth day. In another passage of this source of law[6] a quite general rule is to be found that the scale of the wages depends on the share of the milk produced. According to Y.[7] an owner of cows who without clearly settling the wages causes work to be done by a hired servant must pay the tenth portion of the profit of the cattle.[8]

As regards the trader (who contrary to the exact rules of the Dharmśāstras and Arthaśāstras, cannot be considered as belonging to the employees in consequence of want of dependence), he has to receive as wages, according to Kaut.[9], $\frac{1}{10}$th of the sale proceeds. This share due to the trader has to be considered rather as a commission—or mediation duty from the point of view of law. A similar rule concerning the profit due to the trader is to be found in Nār. and Y.[10]

It is understood that the sources of law contain casuistic rules concerning only the scale of unstipulated wages even in the above three cases; they are the most usual and ordinary services, and as there was not a general rule which regulated the scale of wages in the case when the parties did not conclude this question the doubt in this regard must have been put aside.[11]

1. K. III. ch. 14.
2. N. VI—3.
3. Of the grain.
4. N. VI—10.
5. Bṛh. XVI—19.
6. Bṛh. XVI—11.
7. Y. II—194.
8. Vīramitrodaya *ad* Y. II—194.
9. K. III. ch. 13.
10. N. XVI—3. Y. II.—194.
11. See K. III. ch. 13, N. V—22 and above.

The sources of law contain rules about the scale of wages of such persons who hardly could be considered employees in consequence of the want of the state of dependence.[1]

Although these cases do not belong to this dissertation the relative rules will be considered here in regard to their character and also similar regulations. Kaut. mentions that artisans, musicians, physicians, buffoons, cooks, and other workmen, serving of their own accord, shall obtain as much wages as similar persons employed elsewhere usually get or as much as experts[2] shall fix. Also separate regulations are to be found concerning public women.[3]

C. The absence of any stipulation about the scale of wages, in the contract of service resulted in law suits. Therefore, a special rule is to be found in Kaut. regarding this question. According to this rule disputes regarding wages shall be decided on the strength of evidence furnished by witnesses ; in the absence of witnesses, the master who has provided his servant with work shall be examined.[4]

D. It can be concluded from the exceptional rule concerning the wages that wages due to watchmen of kitchen-gardens and of produces of fields[5] were paid in cash with the exception of field-workers and herdsmen.[6] Only in Kaut.[7] we find a rule that bad liquor may be given to workmen *in lieu* of wages, but this rule must be considered as a quite remote exception, as it results from the relative passage.[8]

A quite modern rule showing great progress is to be found in Kaut. *i. e.* a rule concerning the reciprocal demands of the employers and employees. Kaut.[9] rules that compensation is admissible and in the case when a deprivation of the wages due on the part of the employer is made, the latter has to pay as a penalty five-fold of the loss suffered by the employee or a fine of six *paṇas*. This rule has—as it seems—to be so interpreted that to the employee belonged the right either to prove the amount of the loss suffered by him and to demand its five-fold

1. See par. 1. B. 2. K. III. ch. 13. 3. See K. III. ch. 13.
4. K. III. ch. 13. 5. K. II. ch. 24. 6. See par. 13.
7. K. II. ch. 25. 8. K. II. ch. 25. 9. K. III. ch. 13.

compensation or to ask the lawful penalty of six *paṇas*. It must be pointed out that this rule can be interpreted in another way too *i. e.* that the failure to pay wages shall be punished by a fine of ten times, or five times the amount of wages, or six *paṇas*.

5A. The wages have to be paid regularly, as Nār.[1] prescribes. But what happened in case the employer did not pay the rightful wages belonging to the employee despite his duty to do so? Replies to this question are to be found in Nār., Bṛh., and Kaut., but they are not of the same tenour.

According to Nār. an employer who does not pay the wages which he had agreed to give, shall pay those wages together with interest.[2]

On the contrary according to Bṛh. in this case the employer shall be compelled to pay the due wages and the proportionate fine besides.[3]

In a similar manner this question is explained in Kaut. where we read that the employer causing delay has to pay a fine of 12 *paṇas* or five times the amount of the wages as indemnity.[4,5]

Therefore it must be pointed out that in all the cases of delay on the part of the employer, the latter has to pay the wages due for the service done and besides, according to Bṛh. a fine, which however likely does not devolve on the opposite party and according to Kaut. the fine and indemnity belong to the employee amounting to five-fold or ten-fold of the wages due. ***Per analogiam*** from the last sentence in Y. II—198 it can be admitted that when the master compels the servant to stop work when the latter was not giving it up, the master shall be compelled to pay to the servant wages.

The scale of the wages which must be paid is prescribed for the carriers (Y. II—197/8).

1. N. VI—2. 2. N. VI—26. (Nepalese manuscript N. VI—7).
3. Bṛh. XVI—8. 4. K. III. ch. 13.
5. A special rule is applied to courtezans. According to N. VI—18 " a man who does not pay the stipulated fee, after having had connection with a courtezan, shall pay twice the amount of the fee " probably as an indemnity. According to Vīramitrodaya p. 422, and other commentaries : illness, however, is considered as a legitimate reason for breaking an engagement of this sort.

B. The protection of the interests of the employee rests with the court and properly with the king, whom the supreme juridical power belongs. The injured party has to address himself to the king and the king will, as Bṛh. says,[1] compel the employer to pay the wages due and probably impose further pecuniary obligations too.

The question as to whether the employee can address himself to the king for wages due to him depends on whether the payment of the wages was agreed upon by the parties or not.

In the first case it was laid down for instance that the wages were to be paid at the middle of the work done,[2] the employee will have the right to address himself to the king, although the work was not quite finished. For the payment of wages the conditions agreed upon by the parties are decisive.

In the second case *i. e.* when the time of the payment of wages due to the employee was not fixed, he had the right to address himself to the king only after he had done his service or finished his work. Indeed this does not emerge from the sources of the law *expressis verbis*, but this point of view must be represented on the grounds of general principles. This point of view is partly justified by the following sentence: "When a master does not pay wages for the labour stipulated after the work has been performed he shall be compelled by the king to pay it."[3] This rule had to be so interpreted that the legislator[4] did not intend to adjudicate the right to go to law to the *negotiorum gestor* for claiming wages. The above rule, according to its tenour, can be applied as well to the case when the contract of service was existing, as also to the case when the contract of service was not stipulated. But it is rather probable that the above rule applies exclusively to the case when the contract of service was not concluded, because the wages, as regards the time of payment, the kind of payment, and their scale, are regulated by *ius dispositivum* and not by *ius cogens*. Therefore, the parties were able to act as they had stipulated. The correctness of this interpretation is seen from the rule

1. Bṛh. VI—8. 2. See N. VI—19. 3. Bṛh. XVI—18.
4. It is doubtful if this expression is exact (legislators).

found in Nār.[1] We read there "a master shall regularly pay wages to the servant hired by him, whether it be at the commencement, at the middle, or at the end of his work, just as he had agreed to do".

C. It may be pointed out that the employer was obliged to treat the employee with due respect and not to abuse him. We do not find in the sources of law such a rule; we may apply by analogy the rule contained in Nār., which relates to courtezans to whom the Dharma-and Arthaśāstras attribute the quality of employees, though—as already mentioned—they do not belong to this category. The fact that the courtezans were considered as employees by the Ancient Indian rules makes possible the application of the relative rules to other employees. According to one of such rules[2] "should a man unnaturally abuse the person (a courtezan) or cause her to be approached by many, he must pay eight times the amount of the stipulated fee, and a fine of the same amount." From this it may be concluded that the employer who ill-treated the employee or abused his person was obliged to pay him a certain indemnity besides a fine to be paid to the king. It must be pointed out that "bad treatment", did not mean "corporal punishment," because such a chastisement was expressly admissible, although in exceptional cases only.[3]

6. The question of non-observance of the stipulated contract of service on the part of the employer is much better regulated in the sources of law. J. Jolly in his work *Recht und Sitte* speaks of this question in one sentence only.[4] This does not seem to be sufficient.

A. Firstly, it must be considered what the expression "non-observance of the contract of service" on the part of the employee means. An implicit and exceptionally strict reply to this question is to be found in Nār.[5] A rule there says that "if a man has promised to render service and fails to render it, it is termed breach of a contract of service". Besides this the performing of a work in an improper way i. e. not in such a manner as was promised, has to be considered as "non

1. N. VI—2. 2. N. VI-9. 3. See above and Āp. II—11-28-2|3.
4. Four lines; p. 107. 5. N. V—1.

observance of the contract of service ".[1] In connection with this the following questions have to be discussed: Which consequences arise from the non-observance or from the improper observance of the contract of service (if the non-observance of the contract of service was rightly justified), what consequences resulted in the last case etc.

B. In the majority of the Dharma--and Arthaśāstras there are only general rules concerning the consequences of the non-observance of the contract of service on the part of the employee.[2]

According to some of the sources of law, consequences of the non-observance depend on the question whether the stipulated, wages were still paid or not. It is learned that the employee had the right to cede from the contract of service when he was sick or if there was another incapacity in his person.

The consequences of the non-observance of the contract of service on the part of the employee are fully discussed in Mn.,[3] where a rule is to be found according to which the employee who, although not sick, does not perform work he has promised to do, had no right to ask for wages and besides had to pay eight *kṛṣṇalas* as a fine. Medhātithi and Govindarāja[4] comment on this rule and express the opinion that the fine mentioned above amounts to eight gold or bronze *kṛṣṇalas*—as the case may be, whilst Kullūka[5] says that the fine always amounts to eight gold *kṛṣṇalas*. In Kaut.[6] a rule is to be found that the employee who does not performe the stipulated work has to pay as fine 12 *paṇas*. Kaut. does not mention in that connection whether the employee has to get the stipulated wages or not. Logically the employee ought not to have any right to his wages as he has not done the service, but we do not find such a rule in the above passage. This logical conclusion, however, is to be found in another passage in Kaut.[7] which contains the rule that the

1. See N. VI—5.

2. Special rules concern the carriers: Y. (II—197,198), N. (VI—9) etc.; but it is hardly to admit that from the strict legal point of view the carriers are employees.

3. Mn. VIII—215. See also Bṛh. XVI—16.

4. See S. B. E. XXV. p. 293 *ad* Mn. VIII—215.

5. See S. B. E. XXV. p. 293 *ad* Mn. VIII—215.

6. K. III—ch. 14.

7. K. III—ch. 14.

wages have to be paid only for services rendered. Applying this general rule to all the contracts of service we must come to the conclusion that the question of the non-observance of the contract of service[1] on the part of the employee was regulated in the same way as well in Mn. as in Kaut. although the scale of the fine was different in both the sources. But the difference was of a quantitative and not of a qualitative nature. The fine had probably to be paid not to the king—as in the case of the non-observance of the contract of service on the part of the employer—but to the employer to whom the indemnity was due. This appears also from another rule found in Kaut. We read there that a cultivator who arriving at a village for work, does not work, shall have to pay double the amount of the wages received for work promised. It is understood that he has to pay this amount to the employer.[2]

However, it must be pointed out that this casuistic rule differs as regards the quantity from the general rule mentioned above.[3],[4] It must also be supposed that the case was regulated in a similar manner when the employee intentionally made the observance of the contract of service impossible. That is seen from a passage found in Kaut.[5]

Only Āp. contains a single rule that servants in villages and herdsmen, who abandoned their work, have to be flogged (corporal punishment).[6] This is probably an archaic rule, which remained in this Dharmaśāstra from past times.

C. It has been mentioned above that the consequences of the non-observance of the contract of service on the part of the employee—according to some sources of law—depended on whether the employee received wages or not. As regards the rules of law such a differentiation is quite right, even in-

1. As far as no lawful reason exists for the non-obsarvance of the contract of service.

2. K. III—ch. 10.

3. Instead of the fine of eight or twelve *kṛṣṇalas* twice the amount of the stipulated wages shall be paid.

4. See also N. VI—6.

5. K. III. ch. 13, see also Mn. VIII—217.

6. Āp. II—11-28-2|3.

dispensably necessary, because the ancient Indian legislator certainly was anxious to come to a decision as to what had to happen with wages received by the employee.

This question is solved in Y,[1] in Vi.[2] and in Bṛh.[3]

According to Y. one who having received his wages abandons the work must pay twice, and if none is received he shall be made to pay an equal amount.

According to Vi. a hired workman who abandons his work before the term has expired shall pay the whole amount of the stipulated wages to his employer and 100 *paṇas* to the king. Also Vi. does not mention *expressis verbis* that he should pay this amount after having received his wages; it results *per analogiam* from the sentence of Bṛh. quoted below.

This question was solved in the best manner in Bṛh. which contains a rule that when a servant does not perform his work after having received his wages, though able to do work, he shall be compelled by the king :

(I) to restore the wages,

(II) to pay a fine (to the king),

(III) to pay twice the amount of his wages to his master.[4]

In this rule the accurate and exact solution of the above question is perceptible. All the doubtful details—excepting one that will be discussed later—were clearly and plainly regulated. It appears especially clearly from that rule that the point at issue is (whether the employee does not perform his work having received his wages), what is the condition of the employee (whether he is able to do work), what steps have to be taken (shall be compelled), as well as of which kind were the employer's claims (as above under (I), (II) and (III)). Bṛh. also discusses the case of the non-observance of the contract of service on the part of the employee who did not receive the wages. This question is decided in Bṛh. in the next sentence,[5] containing the rule that the servant who has promised to do work and does not perform it shall be compelled to do so (by

1. Y. II—196. 2. Vi. V—153-154. 3. Bṛh. XVI—15.

4. To the employer ; it does not result *implicite* from this rule.

5. Bṛh. XVI—16.

forcible means even). When the servant refuses to do the work, for which he is engaged, through obstinacy, he shall be fined eight *kṛṣṇalas* and his wages shall not be paid to him. That the rule contained in the above mentioned sentence 16 of the XVI book Bṛh. has to be interpreted in connection with the preceding sentence results *a contrario* from the sentence 15 of the XVI book Bṛh. where the case is regulated as to when the employee has received his wages, while the sentence 16 of the XVI book does not expressly mention if this rule relates to the above case, or to quite the contrary case. It has to be supposed that sentence 16 of the XVI book Bṛh. does not mean a continuation of the rule contained in sentence 15 of the XVI book Bṛh. Besides this—often mistaken *argumentum a contrario*—the above supposition is proved by the fact that the legislator of Bṛh. certainly did not intend to solve the same question twice and in a different form (performing the work by compulsion). A confirmation of this interpretation of sentences 15 and 16 of the XVI book Bṛh. is to be *per analogiam* with Nār.[1] where we may find a rule that if a man fails to perform such work as he has promised to do, he shall be compelled to perform it, first paying him his wages,—if he does not perform it after having taken wages, he must pay back twice the amount of his wages.[2],[3] It could be concluded that the sentence 16 of the XVI book Bṛh. forms a continuation, or a supplement of the rule contained in sentence 15 of the same book of Bṛh. However, these arguments cannot debilitate the considerations mentioned above, so that it can be supposed nearly with certainty that sentence 16 of the XVI book of Bṛh. refers to the case of the non-observance of the contract of service on the part of the employee after having taken wages, while sentence 15 of the same book of Bṛh. relates to the case of non-observance of the contract of service on the part of the employee who did not receive his wages.

1. N. VI–5.
2. N. VI–5.
3. Against the above supposition it may be noted that as well as the sentence 16 of the book XVI of Bṛh. expressly does not mention that there is a question of the non-observance of the contract of service on the part of the employee as the scale of the fine is stated, while the sentence 15 of the same book does not contain these details.

Unjustly, as was mentioned above,[1] the ancient Indian sources consider courtezans as employees. In this regard special rules are to be found, which, however, resemble the above mentioned ones. If a courtezan declines to receive a man after having received her fee; she shall pay twice the amount of the fee,[2] provided that,—as Nārada's commentator Vīramitrodaya quite rightly remarks[3]—an important reason for breaking a contract of this sort exists ; illness is considered by him as such a reason.

D. Till now the cases were considered where the contract of service was not observed on the part of the employee on the whole. The Dharma-and Arthaśāstras also discuss cases where the service agreed upon was only partially performed by the employee.

According to Kaut. wages are on principle to be paid for work done but not for work that is not done, and according to Bṛh. should a hired servant fail in the performance of ever so small a part of his master's work, he forfeits his wages, and may be sued in court for his offence.[4] The above-mentioned principle is not to be used in the case whan the employee began at an improper time, or improper place, or does not perform his work in due form. Kaut. remarks that the employer who is in this case unwilling to pay the agreed wages to the employee,—is not obliged to pay it.[5] In other words the employer has the right to pay or not to pay wages to the employee for the service done, if the employee is in fault regarding the non-performance of the promised work.

In connection with this rule it should be pointed out that it results from Kaut.[6] that the work could be performed by a third person[7] in case of an illness of the employee, unless an agreement to the contrary was concluded,[8] and that in this case if the employee received the wages due to him he had to in-

1. See above par. 1. B.
2. N. V1—18.
3. N. VI—18, S. B. E. XXXIII—p. 1,43.
4. Bṛh. XVI—14.
5. K. III. ch. 14.
6. K. III. ch. 14.
7. See K. III. ch. 14.
8. K. III. ch. 14.

demnify his representative.[1] But when the employee malevolently[2] does not perform his work, and also does not entrust a third person with the performance of the work in question, he forfeits completely the wages for the service performed partially.[3,4]

Kaut.[5] further contains a rule that when the employee—without assent on the part of the employer—performs more than it was agreed upon, he has no right to demand wages for the additional work. Although this rule can be considered as contradictory to the general rule, that wages have to be paid for services done,[6,7] it is an apparent contradiction only. The foundation for this last rule is that the service done by the employee must have some value for the employer. Therefore, when the additional performance according to the concluded agreement ought not to be done, the *prescriptio iuris ac de iure* exists that such an additional performance could not have any value for the employer. That question, a little bit changed, is discussed in Y.[8] Y. comes to another conclusion. According to the sentence contained in this Dharmaśāstra, "when one disregards the place and the time, as also where one otherwise causes a reduction in profits, in such a case, the will of the master shall prevail; but more shall be paid if more be made". Concerning the last few words it must be pointed out that the author (or authors) of Y. wanted to say, contrary to the above mentioned opinion, that if a worker by reason of a special knowledge as to time and place make more profit for his employer, then an amount exceeding that fixed before, should be paid by the employer to the employee.[9]

An employee, however, who does not sell a commodity at the proper time or in a proper place, and thus disregards these

1. See J.J. Mayer: Das Altindische Buch vom Welt-und Staatsleben, Leipzig, 1926. p. 291-40.

2. आर्त : सुस्थो That when these words are placed together it appears that the author intended to establish "not very ill".

3. He lost it partially too.

4. Mn. VIII—217.

5. K. III. ch. 14.

6. K. III. ch. 14.

7. See par. 4. A.

8. Y. II—195.

9. Mit. *ad* Vīramitrodaya *ad* Y. II—195.

conditions through insolence or the like, or one who at the same time or place brings in less profit than has been reaped by an extensive sale of the merchandise *i. e.* when the employer suffers a loss in the profit on account of the fault of the employee by the non-observance of the contract of service on the whole the employer has the right to pay as much as he wishes and not the entire wages.[1]

E. The question of the non-observance of the contract of service on the part of the employee who is not at fault is discussed in Nār.[2], Mn.[3], Y.[4] and especially in Kaut.[5] According to this last Arthaśāstra the employee has the right to give up the concluded agreement,[6] or to cede the performance of the work to a substitute[7] and this without any unfavourable consequences for himself—in the following cases :

(*a*) If he is incapable to complete the work,

(*b*) If it is a mean job,

(*c*) If he is suffering from disease,

(*d*) If he involved in calamities.

To cede the performance of the work to a substitute is however inadmissible where the parties have excluded this probability *expressis verbis*.[8]

The cases quoted under (a) to (d) are only mentioned by way of example. From the point of view of law these cases can be considered as "important motives for giving up the contract of service" on the part of the employee. Vīramitrodaya especially considers disease as an important case for giving up the contract of service on the part of the employee;[9] it results from the commentary on *śloka* 10 of the VI book of Nār. The same question is also discussed in Mn. This Dharmaśāstra points out that when a sick employee after his recovery performs his work, he shall receive wages with delay too.[10] In other words

1. Mit. *ad* Vīramitrodaya ad Y. II—195.
2. Vīramitrodaya ad N. VI—17.
3. Mn. VIII—216. 4. Y. II—196. 5. K. III. ch. 14.
6. K. III. ch. 14. 7. K. III. ch. 14. 8. K. III. ch. 14.
9. Concerning courtezans see S. B. E. XXXIII. p. 143.
10. Mn. VIII—216.

Mn. advocates the point of view that the delay in performance of the concluded work caused by the sickness of the employee is justified, and the work can be performed at a later period. .According to Kaut. each alteration of the contract of service even though it concerns only the kind of work to be performed, as well as prohibiting the employee from coming to the workshop, forms an important cause for the employee to demand the payment of wages, or to retain the received wages, although the service was not even partially done by the employee. Kaut. contains a rule namely that when the employer asks the employee to perform another work, than the one stipulated, the employee is not obliged to repay the wages received if he is not willing to do the new service.[1] Just so Kaut. states that when the employer is at fault, in consequence of which the employee does not perform his work, or the performance of the work is made difficult, the employee has to receive his wages ; especially it is then supposed that when the employee is not able to perform the work which he began, in consequence of the fault on the part of a third person, the work has to be considered as performed.[2] We find here again an example of the social position of the employee, and how far the protection of the employees is extended.

Y.[3] regulates in a similar manner another casuistic problem which gives, however, an idea on the general rule that the employee, who does not observe the contract of service without any fault on his part, must receive the agreed wages. Y. regulates a problem of the non-observance of the coctract of service by more than one employee. And so Y. says : " If the work cannot be accomplished by both, the wages should be paid for the work done according to the agreement ". This sentence must be understood in the following manner : If the work which was contracted could not be accomplished by two or more workers on account of illness or any other impediment but not the fault of the employee, the employees have the right to demand wages which must be paid proportionately to the work done.[4] It is

1. K. III. ch. 14.
2. K. III. ch. 14.
3. Y. II—196.
4. Mit. *ad* Y. II—196.

unclear if in this case the work was contracted with more than with one worker, or if it was contracted with one worker only who afterwards gave one or more substitutes. Mit.[1] adds that the wages which should be paid proportionately to the work done should be determined by an arbitrator. It is possible that this will occur when the contract of service does not mention *expressis verbis* the scale of wages ; it must be admitted that in this case, too, the workers have the right to demand proportionate wages. These proportionate wages must be paid, according to the work done, to all the workers who have worked for the observance of the contract of service.

F. In the same way the Dharmaśāstras decide the question whether wages belong to the employee when the service was not done by him, due to the fault of the employer. Only Vi. discusses this case, when an employer dismisses a workman before the expiration of the term concluded. Then the employer is obliged to pay the entire wages to the employee,[2] and besides this a fine of 100 *paṇas* to the king,[3] unless the employee has been at fault.[4],[5] Applying the *argumentum ex minori ad maius* a general principle has to be formulated that in the case of being unable the employee, due to the fault of the employer, to perform his work, though he was willing to do it, entire wages belonged to him, as if he had performed his work. It must also be supposed *per analogiam* that the same principle was applied in the case when the parties concluded an agreement concerning the performance of a fixed work. Controversial questions regarding the period of time necessary for the performance of the work had to be decided by the Court. Most probably the same principle had to be applied in case the parties concluded an agreement for an indeterminate period of time, because the Dharma-and Arthaśāstras do not decide this question. Therefore, the general rule must be applied that all the controversial questions arising from the contract of service had to be decided by the Court.[6]

1. Mit. *ad.* Y. II—196.
2. Vi. V—157.
3. Vi. V—158.
4. Vi. V—159.
5. *i. e.* that he performs the entrusted work not in due form.
6. See par. 5, B.

7. It must also be pointed out that the employer is exclusively responsible for any guilty act committed by the employee by order of the employer and for the benefit of the latter.[1] This, in regard to penal law, is a curious rule, and sheds a ray of light on the civil lawful position of the employee. Therefore, it appears from this exceptional rule that, as long as the employee is in condition of service to his employer, he (the employee) *quasi* loses his ability of action and shall be considered *quasi* a tool in the hands of the employer. This rule says that when a servant, commissioned by his master, does any improper act (such as theft) for the benefit of his master, the latter shall be held responsible for it. On the contrary, the employee is exclusively and personally responsible for the guilty acts committed by him, due to his own fault, during the course of service.[2]

8. The employee may engage himself as an ordinary days workman, in which case he does nothing more than the work only, or engage himself to do service with his own instruments. This results *a contrario* from Nār.[3] In the first case the employee is obliged to employ and supervise with due care the implements of work entrusted to him.[4] It also appears from the general rules that in case of negligent employment, or care of the instruments entrusted to the employee, the latter has to indemnify the employer.

9. Finally it must be pointed out that a fine may be replaced by performance of work.[5] Therefore, the person who is not able to pay the fine inflicted on him by the king (by the Court), may do service on account of the king instead of paying the fine.

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The above rules which are contained in the Dharma-and Arthaśāstras relate to employers and independent employees who conclude the contract of service for themselves.

Other rules however refer to

1. Bṛh. XVI—17. 2. N. VI—4.
3. N. VI—4. 4. K, III. ch. 13.
5. See J. J. Meyer : Das altindische Buch vom Welt—und Staatsleben, Leipzig 1926, Zus. ad 288–18|288–39|42.

III. CONTRACTS OF SERVICE BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND ASSOCIATIONS OF EMPLOYEES

10. This apparently quite contemporary institution, *i. e* the employee-co-operative society, with whom as the representative of all the employees, the contract of service was to be concluded, was not only well known in Ancient India but was in practice widely used. This appears from special rules given in this regard. Although from the point of view of law, important differences are to be found between the structure of the modern and the Ancient Indian co-operative societies as regards the rights of the members etc., nevertheless there are many rules, which resemble the rules of the recent co-operative societies. Above all, the idea to establish co-operative societies resembles the principle of the co-operatives in contemporary countries.

It must be noted that in many cases it is doubtful if the society, from the legal point of view, has to be considered a co-operative society or a civil-law partnership.

According to Nār. a partnership arises when traders or *others*[1] carry on business jointly[2] for the purpose of gain, and contribute their funds towards the common stock of the association.[3] This joint contribution of funds must be considered as the basis of all partnerships (according to Nār.).[4] Therefore each member is obliged to contribute his proper share towards the common stock.[5],[6] The chief-design and the chief-condition of the existence of an association, however, rests on the performance of work jointly by all the members of the society.[7] That is the chief principle which is also found in contemporary co-operative societies.

It does not appear from Jolly's *Recht und Sitte*[8] that the author represented the view that the personal co-operative societies could also be employers' cooperative societies. At any rate, the author does not express such an opinion. The admissibility of employees' co-operative societies results in-

1. Also employees. 2. N. III—1,2.
3. N. III—2. See Y. II. 259. 4. N. III—2. 5. N. II—2.
6. Rather a society of civil law is here spoken of.
7. See Mn. VIII—211, Y. II—259. 8. Par. 33.

directly from Nār. and Y.[1] while the Dharmaśāstras mention partnerships not only of traders but also of "others" (hence partnerships of employees too). Also from Bṛh.,[2] the admissibility of such employees' co-operative associations results indirectly. But Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, which was unknown to the Author of the work *Recht und Sitte* at that time, expressly mentions such employees' co-operative associations. Kaut. contains express rules about employees' associations[3] as well as about the rights and the duties of their members. It results also directly from Y.[4] There exists, therefore, no doubt that the rules contained in the Dharmśāstras, as regards the associations, are of value for the employees' associations too.[5]

11. According to the advice found in Bṛh.[6] persons of noble parentage, clever, active, intelligent, familiar with coins, skilled in revenue and expenditure, honest and enterprising, have to be admitted as members of such partnerships. It is understood that this sentence cannot be considered as a rule of any value, but, as it often happens in the Dharmaśāstras, as advice to the members of the partnership. The same concerns the advisers of the general body (knowing *dharma*, pure, unavaricious).[7]

12. Each member of such a partnership is able to act only according to the instructions laid down by all the members, or only on the authority of the other partners.[8] From that it is evident that from time to time meetings of the members of the partnerships took place, where all the members were consulted as regards the representation of the partnership.[9] If a partner is sent for the business of the partnership (गण) he must deliver to the गण whatever he receives, and he should be compelled to pay elevenfold if he does not himself deliver the same.[10],[11] It is the consequence of the general rule found in Y.,[12] according to which duties arising under any *dharma* should be carefully

1. N. III—1. Y. II—192. 2. Bṛh. XVI—5. 3. K. III. ch. 14.
4. Y. II—265. 5. *Per analogiam.* 6. Bṛh. XIV—2.
7. Y. II—191. See Y. II—188. 8. N. III—5, Bṛh. XIV—9.
9. See Y-II—60. 10. Y. II—190.
11. The question is regulated in another manner in Y. II—255, where a cheat (जिह्म : a man of crocked ways) should be expelled and deprived of all profits. 12. Y. II—190.

observed by members of the partnership (गण), as also the duties imposed by the king.

13. Each member of the employees' society was obliged to have his proper share.[1] These shares could be equal or unequal. In a partnership with unequal shares there will be members who possess normal equal shares, or such ones who possess greater or lesser shares.[2] The scale of the shares depends above all on the fund contributed to the common stock; in this stock the members participate in ideal portions.[3] Supposing that sentence 32 of the XIV book Bṛh. can be applied to the case we are talking about, the point of view could also be advocated that the scale of the share could depend on the personal qualities of the members; then the chiefs would receive four shares, the valiant ones three shares and the particularly able ones two shares, whilst all the remaining partners would share alike.[4]

Money,[5] grain,[6] liquids, condiments,[7] or the like form the common property of the society, resulting from the shares contributed by the members. In proportion to the contributed shares the partners have to perform labour, and to obtain profit or to bear losses and expenses.[8,9]

14. As Nār. expressly quotes, the terms of the agreement are decisive for the rights and duties of the employees (partners).[10] A rule is continued there to the effect that the stores, the food, the charges (for tolls and such alike), the loss, the freight and the expense of keeping valuables must be duly paid for by each of the several partners, in accordance with the terms of their agreements. Therefore, it appears from this rule that

1. It may be doubtful if the sentence 32 of the XIV book of Bṛh. refers to the employee. According to this rule four shares shall be awarded to the chiefs; he who is specially valiant shall receive three shares; one particularly able shall take two; and the remaining associates shall share alike.

2. N. III—2, Bṛh. XIV—3,4. 3. Yājñ. 4. See here note 9.

5. Gold. 6. Grain.

7. Bṛh. XIV—4. 8. Bṛh. XIV—3. N. III—3.

9. These rules point at this fact, that such associations were not co-operatives, but associations of civil law, the members of which were employees. 10. N. III—4.

above all the agreement, *i. e.* the statute of the society, is decisive as regards the rights belonging to the employees and for the duties imposed on them,—and in absence of such an agreement apparently the above—mentioned and the quoted below principles shall hold good. The same is evident also from Y. Supposing that sentence 32 of the XIV book of Bṛh. is not valid as a rule *ipso iure*, the rule embodied in this sentence would often be contained in the terms of the agreements, because according to the agreement unequal rights and duties could belong to each of the several partners. Besides this it appears from the rule quoted above and found in Nār. that the partners could participate in the common stock by apportions, and such apportions were stores,[1] food,[2] liquids,[3] condiments[4] and the like.

15. The limit of the responsibility of the partner towards the partnership for his acts on behalf of the society is regulated in the sentence 5 of the III book of Nār. A rule is found there to the fact that each partner is responsible for what has been lost by his want of care, or in consequence of his acting against the instructions of, or without authority from all the other co-partners.[5] From the point of view of law it means that each of the partners is responsible for the damage inflicted to the society due to his own fault, irrespective of an existing *culpa levis* or *culpa lata*. This rule is much more clearly expressed in Bṛh. in sentence 9 of the XIV book and in Y. (as far as the existence of *culpa levis* or *culpa lata* is concerned). According to this rule, when a single partner acting without the assent of the other partners, or against their express instructions, injures their joint property through his negligence, he must give a compensation to all his partners. From this formulation of the text of this rule it can be supposed that according to Nār. an employees' co-operative society was not considered as a juristic person, but that the individual partners were regarded as subjects of law, who, however, appear on the outside as an entity. In consequence the society as a whole had no right to demand compensation from the guilty partner, but this right

1. Y. II—187. 2. N. III—4. 3. N. III—4, Bṛh. XIV—4.
4. Bṛh. XIV—4. 5. Y. II—260.

belonged to each of the partners in proportion to the scale of his shares, or share.[1] Such a supposition could result also from the interpretation of this rule together with the sentence 3 of the XIV book of Bṛh.,[2] where we read that the single partner had to defray charges and obtain profit in proportion to the shares contributed.

When, however, a loss or diminution has occured without guilt on the part of a single partner, for instance by *vis maior* (fate or action of the king)[3] this damage has to be borne by all partners in proportion to their respective shares.[4] From this rule, too, it may be considered that the society was not a juristic person, because all the partners were personally obliged to compensate the damage which had occured without guilt on the part of any partner. This rule has to be considered as *ius cogens* and cannot be removed by the terms of the statute. It is curious that a rule of such a kind is not to be found in Nār., all the more so because this Dharmaśāstra discusses the question of partnerships in a similar manner. Both the Dharmaśāstras, however, contain the same rule, that when the property of the partnership is in danger through fate or through the action of the king,[5] the tenth part of the goods belong to the partner, who has preserved them through his own effort.

When, however, a partner acts intentionally against the interests of the society or its members, or if he commits a theft thus inflicting loss on his co-partners or on the society, he should, according to Y. and Kaut.,[6] be excluded *ex offo* from the partnership. Such a person loses all the rights belonging to him as a partner, according to the terms of the statute of the society, or according to the general rules regarding the partnerships. (Analogy from the principle mentioned below). In a similar, but somewhat different manner this question was regulated

1. Bṛh. III—9.
2. and N. III—3.
3. Bṛh. XIV—8.
4. Bṛh. XIV—8.
5. N. III—6, and adds very rightly: "through a gang of robbers, or ... ", and Y. II—260.
6. Y. II—268. K. III. ch. 14 etc. We find there also other reservations and punishments. Concerning the property of गण see: Y. II—187. Mn. VIII—219 etc.

in Bṛh.[1] According to this Dharmaśāstra, a partner who has practised deceit in a purchase or sale—and, therefore, has acted against the interests of the society, or his co-partners—must be purified by an oath or ordeal. An unable partner may have his work done by another (partner).[2]

16. Kaut. also discusses the case when one of the partners abandons his work or behaves unfairly towards the parntership as a whole, or towards other partners.[3] Therefore, when some work incumbent on the partnership is in progress and one of the partners abandons his labour, though he is able to do it, the fine amounts to 12 *paṇa* and besides this, such a partner loses all the privileges belonging to him.[4] It is not clear what is to be understood by the expression " loss of all the privileges ". Probably there is the question of those rights which belong to the single partner according to the terms of the agreement,[5] or according to the general rules regarding the partnerships. Especially those rules shall be applied which regulate the case of the partner's leaving the partnership. Therefore a partner spontaneously leaving his partnership has the right to demand the delivery of his apportion or his share, from the society or from the co-partners. But in case of misbehaviour he will not have this right.

17. The Dharma-and Arthaśāstras regulate or discuss the case of the loss of the membership of the society if the partner goes abroad or dies. This question is clearly regulated in Y. and Nār.[6] which contains a rule that, should one partner meet with an accident his heir shall replace him, and failing an heir[7] another man (दायादस् वान्धवस् or his ज्ञातिस्)[8] or all the partners shall replace him if they are capable of doing so. It is doubtful what the words "if they are capable" mean. In the translation of Nārada-

1. Bṛh. XIV—6,7. 2. Y. II—265.

3. It may be doubtful if these rules refer to the associations or to the individual workers. As this rule is put together with the preceding rules it may be accepted that the author (or the authors) of K. intended to regulate the question of associations.

4. K. III—ch. 14. 5. Of the statute. 6. N. III—7. Y-II—264.

7. Or of an other person who has rights in this case.

8. Y. II—264.

Smṛti,[1] Jolly amplifies these words by the additional words " if they are capable of becoming his substitute ". Interpreting the above rule in connection with general rules, it seems that such a partner can only be considered "capable" who is capable of acting *i. e.* is able to be the subject of rights and duties, to whom especially the *factio hereditatis passiva* belongs. It seems that this case was regulated in Bṛh. in a similar manner.[2] According to the relative rules, which principally relate to the deceased traders,[3] who at the same time are members of a partnership,—the right to the share of the deceased partner belongs to his heir, after the latter has proved his right to be the heir by witnesses.[4] But if no one comes forward claiming the property as heir, the king has the right to take that property.[5] This rule is in accordance with the general principles, which refer to the heirless wealth, in which case the heirless property devolves *iure caduco* on the king, or the Brahma-caste as a whole. On the contrary, the personal ceremonies—as it seems —have to be performed in the last case too by the members of the partnership.[6] From the considerations mentioned above, and especially from the rules contained in Nār.,[7] it is evident how far the union was reacting between the single partners and the partnership, as the partnership, or its members, entered in the right of the succession by inheritance—*iure caduco* ordinarily belonging to the king. This unit appears also from the rule that all doubtful cases between the partnership as a whole and its members, or between the partners among themselves, have to be arbitrated by the partners themselves.[8] By his entry into partnership each partner signs *quasi* an agreement of arbitration.

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1. S. B. E. XXXIII. p. 125.
2. Bṛh. XIV—11-15.
3. See Bṛh. XIV—11.
4. See Bṛh. XIV—12.
5. See Bṛh. XIV—14, Y. II-264.
6. See Bṛh. XIV—15.
7. N. III—7.
8. Bṛh. XIV—6.

CHRONOLOGY OF KALI DYNASTIES

D. R. Mankad

(*Continued from P. O. Vol. VIII, No. 1 & 2*)

Regarding Nandas, the Purāṇas mostly take them to be nine in all, but mention individually only Mahāpadma and his son i. e. only two Nandas who in all ruled for 100 years. According to the above Buddhistic tradition, 19 kings (ten sons of Mahānanda and nine Nandas) ruled in all for 44 years in succession, which is clearly absurd.

I think that this whole confusion is caused by two factors. Śiśunāga was a Nāga, but who were Mahānanda and the Nandas ? As far as I can see Nandas too belonged to the same family as Mahānanda, so that from Mahānanda to the last of the Nandas, there was the same family ruling. Mahānanda also belonged to the Nanda family or Nanda family started after his name and Mahāpadma also belonged to the Nanda family. Now so far as I can make out from the above confused statements, just after Śiśunāga came Mahānanda. With him started the republican period of 350 years. During this period ruled Mahānanda and his eight lineal successors (not sons.) Let us apply the Manvantara-Caturyuga Method. For these 350 years they would require ($350 \div 40 = 8 + 1$) 9 king-units. Therefore there were 9 king-units in all *viz.* Mahānanda and his 8 successors. These were the nine Nandas of the republican period. Result will be the same even if we compute from Parikṣit. From him to the end of the First Republic in 1636 B. C. will be required 1500 years, for which they would require ($1500 \div 40 = 37 + 1$) = 38 king-units. They were accounted for thus : 22 Bārhadrathas + 5 Pradyotas + 1 Śiśunāga + 9 Nandas (1 Mahānanda + 8 successors) = 37 + Mahāpadma ruling. Thus the Baimbisāras were not included in the Śaiśunāga dynasty even in the days of Mahāpadma. Thus nine Nandas (Mahānanda and his 8 successors) were the ruler-chiefs of the Republican period of 350 years.

Then, according to my suggestion to be detailed later, Mahāpadma and his one son (not 8 or 9) together ruled for

86 years. And from Mahānanda to Mahāpadma's son all were Nandas. Thus in all there were 11 Nandas. Therefore Nanda rule came to an end 1586 years after Parikṣit or in 3136–1586 = 1550 B. C. So in the days of Candragupta Maurya when they adjusted, they had to account for 1586 years, which they did thus : 22 Bārhadrathas + 5 Pradyotas + 1 Śiśunāga + 9 (Mahānanda and his 8 successors or the nine Nandas) + 2 (Mahāpadma and his son) = 39 + 1 Candragupta ruling. And for these 1586 years, according to the Manvantara device, they would require just (1586 ÷ 40) = 39 + 1 king-units. Thus in the days of the first Maurya and after, it would seem that there were 11 Nanda kings in all (Mahānanda + 8 successors + Mahāpadma + his son). Thus in the later period, if the whole period of 350 + 86 = 436 years from Mahānanda to the end of Nandas was taken as one whole, it may be said that during that period ruled Mahānanda and his 10 descendents (not sons). Thus can we explain the Bhuddhistic statement about Mahānanda and his ten sons.

Purāṇas say that there were nine Nandas in all but give actually two names only. This means that Purāṇas talk of nine Nandas of the Republican period plus two later Nandas (Mahāpadma and his son). So this tradition of nine Nandas implicitly preserves a clue to the period of 350 years of the First Republic.

Thus upto the days of Candragupta Maurya, Baimbisāras do not find a place in the genealogies. But as we shall see, they were soon given their present position in the days of Aśoka Maurya. But an indirect result of the above analysis will be this also that Buddhism remained subordinate all throughout the period from Śiśunāga to the coronation of Aśoka. This will incidentally mean, that Śiśunāga, the 11 Nandas and the first two Mauryas were all Brahmanic in faith.

But when in Aśoka's days Bauddhas came to power and took a hand in adjusting the Imperial genealogies they found that the Brahmans had ignored the Baimbisāras altogether. They now wished to vindicate their honour. Individual names of the 8 sons of Mahānanda who ruled in the Interregnum of 350 years

were not noted in the Purāṇas, they were merely mentioned as nine Nandas. So very conveniently these Buddhists omitted these 8 units (the successors of Mahānanda) altogether, kept the names of Śiśunāga and Mahānanda and also of Mahāpadma and his son, but inserted the 8 Baimbisāras, possibly before Śiśunāga. It was in the days of Aśoka that they did this, i. e. in (1550 B. C. – 24 years of Candragupta – 28 years of Bindusāra – 4 years of Aśoka's reign before his coronation = 1550 – 56 = 1494)1494 B. C. Then they had to adjust for 3136 – 1494 = 1642 years from Parikṣit. They would require for these 1642 years (1642 ÷ 40 = 41 + 1) 42 king-units. They adjusted thus. Bārhadrathas were 22. Pradyotas were 5. Thus they had 27 king-units. Then they put 8 Baimbisāras + 1 Śiśunāga + 1 Mahānanda + 2 (Mahāpadma and his son) + 2 (Candragupta and Bindusāra). Thus they had 41 king-units over + Aśoka ruling. What they did was to omit the 8 successors of Mahānanda and add 8 Baimbisāras.

We do not know who these eight Baimbisāras were. In the present Śaiśunāga dynasty we have Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru and Udāyi—these three Baimbisāras only. Buddhist records mention—Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru, Udāyi, Anuruddha, and Muṇḍā and perhaps Nāga Dāsaka (though he was not a Baimbisāra)—These five or six Baimbisāras. In fact Śaiśunāga dynasty bears the traces of at least one more handling, when its present shape was given to it. But I have not examined this question in details yet.

But this much is certain that by the time of Candragupta and Aśoka the earlier dynasties were fairly well settled. There were in all 39 king-units before Candragupta Maurya and upto the end of the Nandas. On this point all are agreed.

Let us now consider the later dynasties from Nandas downwards. Generally we find that all the Purāṇas give 100 years for the Nandas, but for the Mauryas, Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas there is a difference between the Bh school and the Vy school. Let us see what this difference is and how it is caused. The following table gives the position of these dynasties according to different Purāṇas.

TABLE II

Dynasty	Vāyu		Bd		Bg		*Vn		Mt		Bh	
Nanda ...	9	100	9	100	9	100	9	100	9	100	9	100
Maurya ...	9	137	9	137	10	137	10	137	{10 {12	139 300	12	316
Śuṅga ...	10	11	10	112	10	100	10	112	10	300	10	300
Kāṇva ...	4	45	4	45	4	45	4	45	4	45	4	85
Āndhra ...	30	456	30	456	30	456	30	456	29	456	33	506

Now just as we have got figures for the interval between P's birth and Mahānanda's accession and also for the interval between P's birth and Mahāpadma's accession and just as the distinction between these figures (1150 and 1500) is not grasped, so we have got, in the Purāṇas, two figures for two other sets of intervals whose real distinction is not grasped. We find that some Purāṇas give 836 years as the period of interval between Mahāpadma's accession and the end of the Āndhras,[1] while Bh gives 800 years as the period of interval between Mahāpadma's accession and the start of the Āndhras.[2] But this would look absurd, for it would leave only 36 years for the rule of the Āndhras, while the Purāṇas give as many as 456 or 506 years for them. But there is no absurdity. These two figures are really based on two different data. Those who give 800 years between Mahāpadma and Āndhra-start calculate according to the Bh. school thus : 100 years for the Nandas, 316 for the Mauryas, 300 for the Śuṅgas and 85 for the Kāṇvas, thus giving a total of 801 years in all. Those who give 836 years between Mahāpadma's accession and the end of the Āndhras calculate thus according to the Vy. school : 86 for Nandas (my conjectural number to be explained later), 137 for the Mauryas, 112 for the

1. See Dynasties of Kali Age :

पुलोमास्तु तथान्ध्रास्तु महापद्मान्तरे पुनः ।
अन्तरं तच्छतान्यष्टौ षट्त्रिंशत्तु समास्तथा ॥

2. See : Classical Sanskrit Literature by M. Krishnamachariar : Introduction.

Śuṅgas, 45 for the Kāṇvas and 456 for the Āndhras, thus giving a total of 836 years.

Now here I have, once again to remind the reader of Arrian's statement. We have seen that out of the three republican periods given by Arrian, one of 350 years was between the Śaiśunāgas and the Nandas. Remaining two periods of 300 and 120 years will give a total of 420 years. Now I suggest that these two gaps of 420 years occurred somewhere between Nandas and Kāṇvas and I further suggest that the Bh. figures of Nandas, Mauryas, Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas contain these 420 years, while the figures of the Vy. school do not. Therefore the real cause of difference in the figures between the two schools is that the one takes into account these 420 years and distributes them in the four dynasties and the other gives the actual regnal figures of these dynasties (except the Nandas). We have taken 1636 B. C. to be the date of Mahāpadma's accession. If we take out 836 years from it we come to 1636 – 836 = 800 B. C. and further if we take out the 420 years of these two gaps, we come to 800 – 420 = 380 B. C. Therefore, I take that the figure 836 refers to the Āndhras upto 380 B. C. (and excludes the two gaps). But we get two figures *viz*. 456 and 506 for the Andhras in the two different schools. I believe that the figure 456 stops at 380 B. C. and the figure 506 takes us down to 330 or 329 B. C., which we have taken as the date of the accession of Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty.

Keeping this in mind and keeping also in mind that the total of actual regnal periods of the five dynasties upto 380 B. C. was 836 (excluding the two gaps), let us reconstruct :

TABLE III

Dynasty	Bh. school	Vy. school	Acco. to my suggestion	Difference bet. the two calculations
Nandas ...	100	100	86	14
Mauryas ...	316	137	137	179
Śuṅgas ...	300	112	112	188
Kāṇvas ...	85	45	45	40
Āndhras upto 380 B.C.	456	456	456	...
	1,257	850	836	421

Here the figures in Vy. school show a total of 850 years whereas according to the general computation it should be 836; therefore I deduct 14 years from the Nandas and give them 86 years. Thus we get that the difference between the two schools is of 421 or 420 years. These 420 years are, therefore, the years of the two gaps spoken of by Arrian. Thus we come down to 380 B. C. This discussion also brings out that the two gaps occurred somewhere after the accession of Mahāpadma and before the start of the Āndhra dynasty.

Let us see, if we can, when these two gaps occurred. For this purpose we shall have to analyse the later dynasties from the point of view of the Manvantara Method. Let us then do so.

With Mauryas we enter a distinct stage of our inquiry. According to Pargiter 'the account of it has suffered more than that of any other dynasty'. I give the following table about the total of kings of this dynasty as given by different Purāṇas: (as seen in Pargitor's Kali Texts).

TABLE IV

	Actually mentioned	General total given
Mt bfgln ...	7	10
Mt other ...	6	10
Vā. ...	9	9
Evā. ...	12	9
Bd. ...	9	9
Vn. ...	10	10
Bg. ...	9	10
Bh. ...	12	12

Thus the number of kings of this dynasty varies from 6 to 12. Purāṇas are unanimous in giving 137 years as the actual regnal period of this dynasty (316 years given by Bh are the adjusted figures). Adding these to the earlier 1586 years we get 1586 + 137 = 1723 years from Parikṣit to the end of Mauryas, for which they would require (1723 ÷ 40 = 43 + 1 = 44) king-units. In that

case there must have been only 3 to 4 Mauryas at first. Then why do we get their total as 6 to 12? I think that it is because the 300 years of the Second Republic are represented by the Maurya total. If we add these 300 years to the above we get (1723 + 300) 2023 years for which they would require 2023 ÷ 40 = 50 + 1 = 51 king-units. We have 39 units upto the end of the Nandas and 12 more will make 51. It is, therefore, that Evā. and Bh. give 12 kings for the Mauryas. Thus the present total of the Mauryas includes the 300 years of the Second Republic.

But if we count the 137 years of Mauryas + 300 years of the Second Republic we get 437 years for which we shall require 437 ÷ 40 = 10 + 1 units. And we have 10 Mauryas (generally) + Puṣyamitra Śuṅga ruling. This will explain the general figure 10 for the Mauryas. The figures 9 and 7 for the Mauryas are explained below.

Thus we find that the period of 300 years' Second Republic came before the Śuṅgas and after the Mauryas.

For Śuṅgas, Purāṇas are fairly unanimous. All give 10 kings and 112 years for them, only Mt gives 8 kings and Bh gives 300 years to them. Thus when after the Śuṅgas they adjusted in the days of the first Kāṇva they had to account for 2023 (upto the end of the II Republic) + 112 (total of Śuṅgas) = 2135 years for which they would require (2135 ÷ 40 = 53 + 1) = 54 units. We find that there were 39 units upto the end of Nandas + 4 units for the Mauryas + 10 Śuṅgas, = 54 which give just 54 units. This shows only 4 Mauryas.

Again Kāṇvas ruled for 45 years and they were four in number. All are unanimous on the point, only Bh has four Kāṇvas for 85 years. After the Kāṇvas or before them there was a period of 120 years' III Republic. Thus in the days of the first Āndhra king they will have to account for 2135 (upto to the end of Śungas) + 45 + 120 = 2300 years from Parikṣit. For these 2300 years they had 39 units upto the end of Nandas + 4 Mauryas + 10 Śuṅgas + 4 Kāṇnvas = 57 units and they would require also 2300 ÷ 40 = 57 + 1 = 58 units i. e. 57 units upto the end of the III Republic and the first Āndhra ruling. This also shows only 4 Mauryas.

All this explains 22 Bārhadrathas, 5 Pradyotas, 10 Śaiśunāgas, 2 Nandas, 10 Śuṅgas and 4 Kāṇvas but does not explain the no. 9 for Mauryas. Let us see how that was obtained.

We have seen above that Bh differs from all others in giving 316 years to the Mauryas and 300 years to the Śungas. If, therefore, we give 316 years to the Mauryas, what will be the position? They will require 1500 years upto the end of the I Republic + 100 years for Nandas according to Bh + 316 for Mauryas = 1916 years for which they would require (1016 ÷ 40 = 47 + 1 = 48) 48 units. They had 39 units upto Nanda-end and they gave 9 units to the Mauryas and got 48 units. Thus the figure of 9 for Mauryas seems to have come into existence.

Again according to Bh, they gave 300 years to the Śuṅgas. So at the end of the Śuṅgas they will have to account for 1600 upto the end of Nandas + 316 for Mauryas + 300 for Śuṅgas = 2216 years for which they would require 2216 ÷ 40 = 55 + 1256 units. They had 39 upto Nanda-end + 9 more for Mauryas, thus 48 in all. So they gave 8 to Śuṅgas, which explains Mt figure of 8 for Śuṅgas.

This explains almost all the discrepancies and contradictions for these dynasties. Thus we come down to the rise of the Āndhras. We find that keeping 3136 B.C. the date of Parikṣit's accession as the fixed point they adjusted the genealogies on the basis of the unit of 40 years. They adjusted on the following occasions.

From P's accession to the end of Śaisunāgas.
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, I Republic
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Nandas
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Mauryas
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, II Republic
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Śuṅgas
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Kāṇvas
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, III Republic

In all these cases they calculated on the basis of a Caturyuga of 40 years. But it seems that after the Śuṅgas, in the days of the Āndhras at some or the other time they adopted Caturyuga of 20 years. We know that Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa gives a Yuga of five years. This will give a Caturyuga of 20 years. Let me show

what evidence there is for the employment of this Caturyuga of 20 years.

In the days of the first Āndhra or the last Kāṇva, they seem to have calculated from the accession of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga to any given point. From Puṣyamitra to the end of the III Republic they will have to account for 112 (Śuṅgas) + 45 (Kāṇvas) + 120 (III Republic) = 277 years. At the rate of the unit of 40 years they would require 277 ÷ 40 = 6 + 1 = 7 king-units. But we find, at the least 8 Śuṅgas and 4 Kāṇvas. So this unit of 40 years was not employed here. If the Caturyuga of 20 years was used they would require for these 277 years (277 ÷ 20 = 13 + 1) 14 king-units and we have 10 Śuṅgas and 4 Kāṇvas.

Account of Āndhra dynasty shows considerable mutilations. The following table shows these mutilations.

TABLE V

Kings	Vy	Bd	Bg	Vn	Mt	Bh
Total ...	30	30	30	30	19	33
Actually mentioned	17,18,19 eVy 25	17	23	22,23 24	21 to 28 & 30	31,32 33

The total figure 30 and Bh-figures 31,32 and 33 came down to the end of the later Āndhras. But the Āndhras proper seem to have stopped at the 24th Āndhra. Let us see how.

These Āndhra kings are said to have ruled for 456 or 460 or 506 years.

If we take the figure 456, we shall require (456 ÷ 20 = 22 + 1) 23 king-units for the Āndhras at the rate of the Caturyuga of 20 years. We have this figure in Bg, Vn and Mt.

If we take the figure 460, we shall require (460 ÷ 20 = 23 + 1) 24 king-units for them at the rate of the Caturyuga of 20 years. We have this figure in Vn, Mt and also in eVā if we omit Pargitar's no. 24a.

If we take the figure 506, we shall require (506 ÷ 20 = 25 + 1) 26 units. We have this figure in Mt.

Let us see why Vy and Bd give 17 kings for the Āndhras. We have seen above that for 456 years they wanted 23 king-units, but we know that it was the sixth or seventh Āndhra and not the first who had achieved a decisive victory over Magadha.[1] Therefore that Purāṇa which will keep only the Imperial Āndhras, will not take into account the first six Āndhras and will give only 17 in place of 23 kings.

Thus we find that the Manvantara-Caturyuga Method explained by me bears the fullest test in the light of the Puranic evidence.

We should however note that with the Āndhras we find certain changes in the Puranic methods. First is this that they abandoned the Caturyuga method of 40 years. Another is this. So far, the Purāṇas considered that power as Imperial who ruled at Magadha and whenever there was a gap in the imperial power at Magadha they silently passed over that period adjusting the years of that gap in one or the other way, but always closing the dynasty when it ceased to rule as an imperial power. Thus so far Magadha was taken as the imperial seat. With the Āndhras we find that the Āndhra kings ruled from the Āndhra capital and though they conquered Magadha they never ruled from Pāṭaliputra. Thus in this period, Āndhra became the imperial seat and so long as there was no gap or change of dynasty at the Āndhra capital, the Purāṇas treated the Āndhras as the imperial power, even though they may have lost their domination over Magadha, which they did within 40 years of Simuka's conquest of Magadha. When the overlordship of Magadha passed in the hands of the Kaliṅga king Khāravela, ordinarily we would expect a stop of the Āndhra dynasty, but it is not so. Āndhra dynasty is continued right upto the rise of the Guptas, for the reasons stated above.

Thus we come down to 835 B. C. (the Āndhra start) and then to 835 – 456 = 379 or 380 B. C. and then again to 379 – 50 (regnal years of the later Āndhras) = 329 B. C.

Thus we see that between Mahāpadma's accession and the beginning of the Āndhra dynasty there were 801 or 800 years as given by the Bh. school. We also find that between Mahā-

1. Cp. Chronology of Ancient India, by Pradhan.

padma's accession and the end of the Āndhras, there were 1236 years, but taking out the 420 years of the gaps, only 836 years, as given by the Vy school. Thus both these figures are genuine.

We can now reconstruct the Kali dynasties thus:

B. C. 3201 Mbh war, P's birth, start of the misunderstood Kali,—and y's acc.

B. C. 3176 Y's death, start of the amended Kali, start of the laukika era.

B. C. 3136 Theoretical date of P's birth.

From 3136 B. C. to 2136 B. C. Bāhradratha dynasty.

From 2136 B. C. to 1998 B. C. (138 years) Baimbisāra dynasty at Magadha and Prodyota dynasty at Avantī.

From 1998 B. C. to 1986 B. C. (12 years) Śaiśunāgas at Magadha as imperial power.

From 1986 B. C. to 1636 B. C. First Republic of 350 years.

From 1636 B. C. to 1550 B. C. (86 years) Nandas at Magadha.

From 1550 B. C. to 1413 B. C. (137 years) Mauryas at Magadha.

From 1413 B. C. to 1113 B. C. Second Republic of 300 years.

From 1113 B. C. to 1001 B. C. (112 years) Śuṅgas at Magadha.

From 1001 B. C. to 880 B. C. Third Republic of 120 years.

From 880 B. C. to 835 B. C. (45 years) Kāṇvas at Magadha.

From 835 B. C. to 379 B. C. (456 years) Āndhras at Āndhra.

From 379 B. C. to 329 B. C. (50 years) Later Āndhras.

B. C. 329 Accession of Candragupta I (contemporary of Alexander the Great).

Thus we find 1500 years from 3136 B. C. (the theoretical date of P) to Mahāpadma's accession. We further find 801 years from Mahāpadma's accession to the Āndhra start and we find 506 years in all for the Āndhras. Thus in all we find 1500 + 801 + 506 = 2807 years from the theoretical date of P's birth to the accession of Candragupta I. Adding to this the 2840 (71 × 40) years of the pre-Mbh period upto Manu and another 800 years of the amendment of the yugas, we get 2807 + 2840 + 800 = 6447 years from Manu to Candragupta I. Therefore I say that Megasthenes, who takes 6451 years for this period, had calculated upto 325 B. C. or upto the 5th regnal year of Candragupta I.

IS KĀLIDĀSA THE AUTHOR OF ONLY THE FIRST EIGHT CANTOS OF THE RAGHUVAṀŚA?

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Dr. C. Kunhan Raja (Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Univetsity of Madras) has enunciated a bold theory according to which the Raghuvaṁśa must have originally stopped with the first eight cantos and all the rest of the epic must have been the addition of a later hand.[1] This means that Kālidāsa wrote only the first eight cantos of the Raghuvaṁśa and that he is not at all the author of the other cantos. In this paper, our aim is to examine the position of Dr. Kunhan Raja and to show that Kālidāsa is the author of not only the first eight cantos but also all the other cantos of the Raghuvaṁśa.

In justification of his theory Dr. Kunhan Raja has tried to maintain that the intention of Kālidāsa, in writing the Raghuvaṁśa, was only to describe the *origin* of the dynasty and not the life and deeds of the various kings of the dynasty.[2] In support of his view of the intention of Kalidāsa, Dr. Kunhan Raja translates 'रघूणां अन्वयं वक्ष्ये' (Raghu I, 9) in a forced and artificial manner as follows:—

"I shall narrate (वक्ष्ये) the *origin etc.* of the dynasty (अन्वयं) of the kings who are the descendants of Raghu (रघूणां)"[3] (Italics are ours). In the above translation, it is not necessary to bring 'the origin etc.' (of the dynasty) into the translation. A natural translation may be like this:—" I shall narrate about the dynasty (*i. e.* life and deeds) of kings who are the descendants of Raghu." Depending on his own translation of the above line, Dr. Kunhan Raja concludes that the term 'Raghuvaṁśa' must be explained as an epic dealing with the dynasty (*i. e.* its origin, origination, and establishment) of kings who were the de-

1. See his '*Studies on Kālidāsa*' Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras, vol. v, pt. 2, p. 18. I thank Dr. Kunhan Raja for having kindly supplied me, on my request, with copies of some of his papers on this problem, during my stay at Madras as a research student.

2. See his '*Notes on Kālidāsa*' ibid., vol. vi, pt. 1, pp. 19 ff. Dr. Kunhan Raja deals with our problem in the third note called '*Title of the works of Kālidāsā*' and concludes on p. 32, as said above.

3. Ibid., vol. vi. pt. 1, p. 26.

scendants of Raghu. "This amounts to the description of the origination of the dynasty by Raghu. A description of the kings of the dynasty is no part of the scheme of Kālidāsa."[1] Dr. Kunhan Raja justifies his interpretation of 'रघूणां अन्वयं वक्ष्ये' saying, "..........a dynasty is only an abstract thing and a poem can be written only about some particulars regarding the dynasty and not about the dynasty itself[2].........The kings of the dynasty are not the only particulars of a dynasty that can be thought of in dealing with a dynasty. The origin, the originator, and the establishment can also be particulars relevant in dealing with a dynasty."[3] No one denies that origin etc. can be particulars of a dynasty. What we maintain is that the above Sanskrit passage does not contain any definite evidence that Kālidāsa's intention was to deal with the origination of a dynasty by Raghu and that Dr. Kunhan Raja's interpretation of the passage is not the natural and the most correct one. With regard to Kālidāsa's intention, one may declare without hesitation that it is to narrate the life and deeds of the members of the dynasty of Raghu.

We can show that the intention of Kālidāsa in writting the Raghuvaṁśa is not to depict the origination of a dynasty by Raghu. It is obvious that Raghu did not originate a dynasty. The dynasty to which he belongs is a Suryavaṁśa (क्व सूर्यप्रभवो वंशः, Raghu., I, 2). So far as the work of Kālidāsa, the Raghuvaṁśa is concerned, Manu, the son of Vivasvat, is mentioned first and Dilīpa is said to be born in the dynasty of that Manu (Raghu, I. 11-12). As Raghu did not actually originate a dynasty, there is no reason to suppose that the intention of Kālidāsa in writing the Raghuvaṁśa was to depict the origination of a dynasty by Raghu. The real intention of Kālidāsa was to write an epic about the life and deeds of the kings of the dynasty of Raghu. So the Raghuvaṁśa could not have stopped originally with the eighth canto. If the real intention of Kālidāsa was merely to depict the origination of the dynasty by Raghu, why did he not stop with the second or the third canto? (Birth of Raghu is mentioned in the third canto, thirteenth *sloka*:—

1. Ibid., vol. vi. p. 26.
2. Ibid., vol. vi. p. 22.
3. Ibid., vol. vi, p. 26.

ग्रहैस्ततः पञ्चभिरुच्चसंश्रयैरसूर्यगैः सूचितभाग्यसम्पदम् ।
असूत पुत्रं समये शचीसमा त्रिसाधना शक्तिरिवार्थमक्षयम् ॥

If we make a liberal interpretation of what we mean by the "origin, origination and establishment of a dynasty", Kālidāsa should have stopped with the fourth or the fifth canto. (The fourth canto describes Raghu's rule and conquests. The poet should have stopped at the most with the birth of Aja, mentioned in Raghu v, 36.) If the intention of Kālidāsa was to depict the origination of a dynasty by Raghu, why did he include the life of Aja also and take us till the death of Aja at the end of the eighth canto, which is the original limit of the Raghuvaṁśa according to Dr. Kunhan Raja? Again, why did the poet devote many *ślōkas* to the lamentation of Aja at the death of his wife, if Kālidāsa wanted to write a short epic of only eight cantos dealing with the origination of a dynasty by Raghu? Will it not be a disproportionate treatment of subjects to devote so many *ślōkas* like that? If the intenticn of the poet in writing the Raghuvaṁśa was such as Dr. Kunhan Raja would make us believe, is it not irrelevant to deal with the life of Aja also and to depict the *Svayaṁvara* of Indumati devoting a full canto (VI canto) to it, in an epic of eight cantos? Aja approximately occupies as much space in the epic as Raghu. Three full cantos and more are devoted to him (in an epic dealing with origination of a dynasty by Raghu and containing only *eight* cantos, according to Dr. Kunhan Raja). As we have seen Aja's birth is mentioned in canto V, 36. From here till the end of the epic (*i. e.* the end of the eighth canto) the thread of narration centres round Aja. It will not be irrelevant and disproportionate, as mentioned above, to deal with the life of Aja also, in three full cantos and more, to depict the *Svavaṁvara* of Indumati in a full canto, and to describe the lamentation of Aja in many *ślōkas*, if we reject the hypothesis of Dr. Kunhan Raja and agree that Kālidāsa wrote a bigger epic and never stopped with the eighth canto. Thus if the epic was of only eight cantos, the above defects arise. But if it was a grand one of nineen cantos, they will not be considered as defects but will fit into the grand scheme properly. Further, Kālidāsa is the last man to commit the above defects. So the epic must not have stopped only with the eighth canto.

Again, if Kālidāsa intended to depict the origin of the dynasty of Raghu, he ought to have depicted how the dynasty arose from the sun and thus drawn a picture of a very obscure part of Hindu mythology. But as Kālidāsa's aim was not to depict the origin of the dynasty, he dealt with the lives of the kings of the dynasty in an epic of certainly more than eight cantos.

Kālidāsa mentions (Raghuvam. I. 5–8) sixteen points of greatness in the kings of the dynasty of Raghu. If Kālidāsa is concerned only with Raghu and with the origination of the dynasty by Raghu, why should he deal with the pointness of greatness common to the kings of the dynasty ? The fact is that Kālidāsa is concerned not with Raghu only, but with other kings also of the dynasty. Kālidāsa mentions in the first canto the points of greatness in the kings of the dynasty, as mentioned above. Now he illustrates those points in the succeeding cantos in the life, not only of Raghu but also of some others. For example, we may give the following *ślōkas* about Atithi (son of Kuśa) in the *seventeenth* canto :—

तमादौ कुलविद्यानामर्थमर्थविदांवरः ।
पश्चात्पार्थिवकन्यानां पाणिमग्राहयत्पिता ॥

(Raghu. XVII, 3.)

This *ślōka* means that Kuśa, the best of the sensible people, ordered him (Atithi) first to receive instruction in the hereditary lores (*i. e.* sciences requisite for a Kṣatriya) and then (after his education was finished) he made him to accept the hands of daughters of kings. In accordance with the scheme of Kālidāsa in writing the Raghuvaṁśa, the above *ślōka* illustrates two of the points of greatness of kings of Raghu's dynasty, mentioned in the first canto by the poet, namely, learning arts and sciences in boyhood and enjoying legitimate pleasures of life in youth.

शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्यानां यौवने विषयैषिणाम् (Raghu. I. 8.)

The following description of Atithi (illustrates three more of the points of greatness mentioned in the first canto, namely, acquiring wealth only to give it in acts of charity (त्यागाय संभृतार्थानां) sticking to truth (implied in सत्याय मितभाषिणां) and making conquests only for the sake of fame, not for annexing territories (यशसे विजिगीषूणां Raghu. I. 7.)

यदुवाच न तन्मिथ्या यद्ददौ न जहार तत् ।
सोऽभूद्भग्नव्रतः शत्रूनुद्धृत्य प्रतिरोपयन् ॥ (Raghu. XVII. 42.)

" What he spoke was never false ; whavtever he gave he did not take back ; but he broke his vow by re-establishing his enemies after having rooted them up." The policy of re-establshing his enemies, followed by Atithi, is only the policy of conquering for fame only, already depicted by Kālidāsa in the first canto and adopted by Raghu also, as mentioned in the fourth.

गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य स धर्मविजयी नृपः ।
श्रियं महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीं ॥ (Raghu. IV. 43.)

The great virtue of acquiring wealth not to hoard it, but to spend it in charity is further illustrated in the case of Atithi in the following *ślōkas* :—

सन्तस्तस्याभिगमनादत्यर्थं महतः कृशाः ।
उदधेरिव जीमूताः प्रापुर्दातृत्वमर्थिनः ॥ (Raghu. XVII. 72.)

" Learned men, who had been extremely poor and hence were expectants, came to the position of donors on account of their going to that great king, as do the clouds by going to the ocean."

ऋत्विजः स तथानर्च दक्षिणाभिर्महाक्रतौ ।
यथा साधारणीभूतं नामास्य धनदस्य च ॥

(Raghu. XVII. 80.)

" That king (Atithi) at the close of the great sacrifice (*i. e.* Aśvamēdha) so honoured the holy priests with munificent presents that his name and that of Kubēra became identical."

So in the *seventeenth* canto the life of Atithi is depicted according to what is said in the first canto regarding the points of greatness of the dynasty of Raghu. This clearly shows that the entire epic was planned and written by a single hand and so it is Kālidāsa who is the author of all the nineteen cantos of the epic.

There are also many other considerations and evidences in favour of Kālidāsa being the author of the entire epic. It will be clear that Kālidāsa is the author, not only of the former cantos of the epic, but also of the latter, if we compare some of the *ślōkas* in the former with those in the latter. Thus, for example in the Raghuvaṁśa IV, 66, Kālidāsa compares Raghu with the sun

and in XVII, 2 and 74, Atithi is also compared with the sun by the poet.

The following *Ślōkas* from the fourth and the seventeeth cantos do surely indicate that it is the same poet who wrote both of them. Speaking of Aja, the son of Raghu, Kālidāsa writes :—

रूपं तदोजस्वि तदेव वीर्यं तदेव नैसर्गिकमुन्नतत्वम् ।
न कारणात्स्वाद्बिभिदे कुमारः प्रवर्तितो दीप इव प्रदीपात् ॥

(Raghu. IV. 36.)

" The majestic form was the same, the valour was the same, the nobleness of nature was also the same; the son did not differ from his generating cause (his father) as the light does not differ from the lamp from which it springs."

And we may now observe how the poet, speaks of Atithi, son of Kuśa, in such a similar tone that none will fail to recognize that it is Kālidāsa the writer of the above *ślōka* who is the author of the following *ślōka* also :—

जात्यस्तेनाभिजातेन शूरः शौर्यवता कुशः ।
अमन्यतैकमात्मानमनेकं वशिना वशी ॥ (Raghu. XVII. 4.)

" The noble and brave Kuśa, who had controlled himself, thought his single self as more than one by means of that noble, brave and self-restraining son."

In the above two *ślōkas*, the latter so resembles the former in its main idea (of a son being the exact replica of his father) that the one may be said to be a Raghu and the other an Aja, that the former is a Kuśa and the other an Atithi and, to use the very words of the great poet himself, the one is the light (दीप) and the other is the lamp (प्रदीप) from which the light springs.

Kālidāsa makes a peculiar use of linguistic and grammatical points in building some of his similes. We may illustrate this, to some extent, by the first *ślōka* of the Raghuvaṁśa :—

वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥

Here Kālidāsa builds his beautiful simile by utilising the closeness existing between a word and its meaning. Pārvatī and Śiva are said to be closely united like a word and its meaning. Kālidāsa uses such beauiful and fitting similes in also

some of the cantos coming after the eighth. Thus in the *eleventh* canto he gives a simile, very *similar* to the one just mentioned. Speaking of the marriage between the sons of Daśaratha and the daughters of Janaka, Kālidāsa writes :—

ता नराधिपसुता नृपात्मजैस्ते च ताभिरगमन्कृतार्थताम् ।
सोऽभवद्वरवधूसमागमः प्रत्ययप्रकृतियोगसंनिभः ॥

(Raghu. XI. 56.)

" Those daughters of the lord of people in company with the sons of the king and they (the sons) with them (the daughters), attained their end (object). The union of the brides and bridegrooms was like the union of *pratyaya* (terminations, affixes) and *prakṛti* (base)."

Who can doubt that the simile mentioned in the very first *ślōka* of the Raghuvaṁśa and the one in the eleventh canto, given just above, are not the products of the same master-mind of Kālidāsa ? In the first *ślōka* of the Raghuvaṁśa, the simile using the closeness between a word and its meaning is mentioned in connection with the close union existing between Śiva and his consort. And in the eleventh canto, a very similar and fitting simile, based on the union of *pratyaya* and *prakṛti*, is used, again in connection with the union between husbands (the sons of Daśaratha) and their wives.

Kālidāsa makes a peculiar use of grammatical points in constructing his similes in the following *ślōkas* also :—

(१) स हत्वा वालिनं वीरस्तत्पदे चिरकाङ्क्षिते ।
धातोः स्थान इवादेशं सुग्रीवं संन्यवेशयत् ॥

(Raghu. XII. 58.)

" That warrior (Rāma) having killed Vāli established Sugrīva in Vāli's place (which was long desired for by the former) like an Ādēśa (substitute) in the place of a root."

(२) यः कश्चन रघूणां हि परमेकः परंतपः ।
अपवाद इवोत्सर्गं व्यावर्तयितुमीश्वरः ॥ (Ibid, XV. 7.)

" Any warrior from the descendants of Raghu is able to put down a foe, as an exception is able to set aside a general rule."

(३) रामादेशादनुगता सेना तस्यार्थसिद्धये ।
पश्चादध्ययनार्थस्य धातोरधिरिवाभवत् ॥ (Ibid, XV. 9.)

" The army which at the command of Rāma, followed him (*i. e.* Śatrughna) was, for the accomplishment of his object, like the prefix (*adhi*) occurring behind the root having the sense of ' to study '."

In the above three similes, No. 2 (given in Raghu. XV. 7.) is almost the same as the one used in Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava, II. 27 :—

लब्धप्रतिष्ठाः प्रथमं यूयं किं बलवत्तरैः ।
अपवादैरिवोत्सर्गाः कृतव्यावृत्तयः परैः ॥

From this it is clear that it is Kālidāsa the author of the Kumārasambhava who wrote the fifteenth cantos of the Raghuvamśa also. Simile No. 3 (used in Raghu., XV. 9) reminds us of another *ślōka* of Kālidāsa :—

" His (*i. e.* Dilīpa's) army was to him like his paraphernalia. His means of accomplishing his object (preservation of peace etc.) were only two-fold : consisting (firstly) of a genius that penetrated every Śāstra and (secondly) of the cord stretched out on the bow."

To Dilīpa (as said in Raghu. I. 19) and to Śatrughna (as mentioned in Ibid, XV. 9) their army was only of a secondary importance. From all the above comparative study, it is quite clear that Kālidāsa is the author of not only the first eight cantos of the Raghuvamśa but also of the other cantos like the eleventh, twelfth, fifteenth and the seventeenth etc.

Kālidāsa mentions the names of kings and towns etc., sometimes in a peculiar and indirect way. This can be illustrated by the following *ślōkas* occurring within the original limit of the Raghuvamśa, set by Dr. Kunhan Raja :—

अथोरगाख्यस्य पुरस्य नाथं दौवारिकी देवसरूपमेत्य ।
इतश्चकोराक्षि विलोकयेति पूर्वानुशिष्टां निजगाद भोज्याम् ॥

(Raghu. VI, 59.)

दशरश्मिशतोपमद्युतिं यशसा दिक्षु दशस्वपि श्रुतम् ।
दशपूर्वरथं यमाख्यया दशकण्ठारिगुरुं विदुर्बुधाः ॥

(Raghu. VIII. 29.)

In the above *ślōkas*, उरगाख्यस्य पुरस्य नाथ indirectly refers to the king of the Pāṇdyas, the lord of the city of Nāgapura (Modern Negapatam in the South). Similarly, Daśaratha is indirectly mentioned as दशपूर्व रथ. We may now proceed to see

how the indirect way of mentioning the names of kings etc. is continued in the latter cantos of the Raghuvaṁśa, as evidenced by the following *ślōka* :—

अनीकिनीनां समरेऽग्रयायी तस्यापि देवप्रतिमः सुतोऽभूत् ।
व्यश्रूयतानीकपदावसानं देवादिनाम त्रिदिवेपि यस्य ॥

(Raghu. XVIII. 10.)

" Compare देवप्रतिमः in the above *ślōka* with देवसरूप in Raghu. VI. 59. Thus in the eighteenth canto the name of Dēvanīka, son of Kṣēmadhanvā, is mentioned indirectly like the examples in the previous cantos of the Raghuvaṁśa, which we have mentioned above. Another instance of indirect mentioning is supplied in the sixteenth canto, where the royal palace (of Kuśa in Ayōdhyā) is mentioned indirectly as his " palace with the attribute ' royal ' prefixed to it." (राजोपपदं निशान्तं).

तस्याः स राजोपपदं निशान्तं कामीव कान्ताहृदयं प्रविश्य ।

(Ibid, XVI. 40.)

Going further back, the fifteenth canto also contains still another such instance :—

स तक्षपुष्कलौ पुत्रौ राजधान्योस्तदाख्ययोः ।
अभिषिच्याभिषेकार्हौ रामान्तिकमगात्पुनः ॥ (Ibid, XV. 89.)

" He (*i. e.* Bharata) having installed his own sons, Takṣa and Puṣkala, now fit to be crowned, as rulers of the capitals that bore their names (*i. e.* Takṣaśila and Puṣkalāvati), again repaired to the presence of Rāma."

Thus Takṣaśila and Puṣkalāvati are referred to indirectly. This is quite in accordance with the practice of Kālidāsa in the previous cantos of the Raghuvaṁśa as well as elsewhere. (For example, in the Mēghadūta, V. 44, Devagiri is referred to as, देवपूर्वं गिरिं).

Let us take another peculiarity which is found in the former cantos and continued in the latter ones of the Raghuvaṁśa. In the case of the names of the kings, Kālidāsa explains in a peculiar way how they got those names. The names of Raghu and Aja are explained thus :—

श्रुतस्य यायादयमन्तमर्भकस्तथा परेषां युधि चेति पार्थिवः ।
अवेक्ष्य धातोर्गमनार्थमर्थविच्चकार नाम्ना रघुमात्मसंभवम् ॥

(Raghu. III, 21.)

ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते किल तस्य देवी कुमारकल्पं सुषुवे कुमारम् ।
अतः पिता ब्रह्मण एव नाम्ना तमात्मजन्मानमजं चकार ॥

(Ibid, V. 36.)

" Feeling that the boy was destined to go to the farthest ends of learning and also (of martial proficiency) in his wars with his enemies, the king (*i. e.* Dilīpa) who knows well the meaning of words, called him Raghu, a word formed from the verb-root meaning the act of going." (Ibid, III, 21). " At a time presided over by Brahmā, his (Raghu's) queen gave birth to a son who resembled Kumāra. Hence his father named his son ' Aja ' which is a name of Brahmā." (Ibid, V. 36).

This practice of peculiarly explaining the names of some kings is continued by Kālidāsa in the latter cantos. To give only one example, we may see how he explains the name of Niṣadha, son of Atithi, in the eighteenth canto :—

स नैषधस्यार्थपतेः सुतायामुत्पादयामास निषिद्धशत्रुः ।
अनूनसारं निषधान्नगेन्द्रात्पुत्रं यमाहुर्निषधाख्यमेव ॥

(Raghu. XVIII. 1.)

" The king who had discomfitted enemies got (lit. begot) from his queen who was the daughter of Arthapati, the king of the Niṣadhas, a son not inferior in strength to Niṣadha, the king of mountains, and called Niṣadha after the name of that mountain." (Ibid, XVIII. 1.)

So far, we have made a comparative study of some of the *ślōkas* in the later cantos of the Raghuvaṁśa by comparing them with others in the same work, except of course in two instances where we have brought in the evidence of the Kumārasaṁbhava and the Mēghadūta also respectively. We shall now proceed to compare the later cantos of the Raghuvaṁśa with the other works of Kālidāsa. The fact that a magnet attracts iron is utilised by the poet to construct some of his apt similes. This may be illustrated by the following example from the seventeenth canto of the Raghuvaṁśa :—

सर्पस्येव शिरोरत्नं नास्य शक्तित्रयं परः ।
स चकर्ष परस्मात्तदयस्कान्त इवायसम् ॥ (Raghu. XVII. 63.)

" The enemy could not take away from him his three-fold power, as no one can take away the hood-gem of a serpent ; but he took

away the three-fold power from his enemy as a load-stone (the magnet) draws away iron." The above *śloka* reminds us of the following one from the Kumārasambhava, where a simile is based on the attraction of iron by a magnet :—

उमारूपेण ते यूयं संयमस्तिमितं मनः ।
शंभोर्यतध्वमाक्रष्टुमयस्कान्तेन लोहवत् ॥ (Kumā. II. 59.)

There is also another common point between the later cantos of the Raghuvaṁśa and the Kumārambhava. In connection with the description of hermitages in the evening, deers resting by the side of altars are mentioned in the fourteenth canto of the Raghuvaṁśa.

सायं मृगाध्यासितवेदिपार्श्वं स्वमाश्रमं शान्तमृगं निनाय ।
(Raghu. XIV, 79.)

In the Kumārasambhava also, the same are mentioned in connection with the description of the same (आवसन्निरुटजाङ्गणं मृगैः Kumā. VIII. 38.)

Let us now compare the Raghuvaṁśa with the Śākuntala. The scene depicting the grief of the forest at the time of Śakuntalā's departure for the capital of her husband is very similar to the one depicting the grief of the same when pregnant Sītā was left alone in the forest by Lakṣmaṇa (in the fourteenth canto of the Raghuvaṁśa) :—

नृत्यं मयूराः कुसुमानि वृक्षा दर्भानुपान्तान्विजहुर्हरिण्यः ।
तस्याः प्रपन्ने समदुःखभावमत्यन्तमासीद्रुदितं वनेऽपि ॥
(Raghu. XIV. 69.)

"The peacocks left their dance, the trees dropped flowers and the female antelopes the *kuśa* grass taken into their mouth ; thus there was a great lamentation even in the forest which sympathized with her in her grief."

Now we may give the scene in the Śākuntala :—

शकुन्तला—नन्वार्यपुत्रदर्शनोत्सुकाया अप्याश्रमपदं परित्यजन्त्या दुःखेन मे चरणौ पुरतः प्रवर्तते ।

प्रियंवदा—न केवलं तपोवनविरहकातरा सख्येव । त्वयोपस्थितवियोगस्य तपोवनस्यापि तावत्समवस्था दृश्यते—

उद्गलितदर्भकवला मृग्यः परित्यक्तनर्तना मयूराः ।
अपसृतपाण्डुपत्रा मुञ्चन्त्यश्रूणीव लताः ॥ (Śāk., Act IV. 11.)

" Śakuntalā :—(Aside of Priyaṁvadā) Delighted as I am with the thought of seeing again my lord, yet on leaving this *āśrama*, I am scarce able to walk.

Priyaṁvadā :—You lament not alone. Mark the affliction of the forest itself when the time of your departure approaches.—

The female antelopes have thrown out the *kuśa* grass (taken into their mouth); the peacocks gave up their dance; the creepers drop their pale leaves, as if they are their tears (of sorrow)." (Śāk., Act IV. 11.)

The following *ślōka* from the fourteenth canto of the Raghuvaṁśa contains some points found in the Śākuntala and the Meghadūta also :—

पयोघटैराश्रमबालवृक्षान्संवर्धयन्ती स्वबलानुरूपैः ।
असंशयं प्राक्तनयोपपत्तेः स्तनंधयप्रीतिमवाप्स्यसि त्वम् ॥

(Raghu. XIV. 78.)

The rearing of hermitage plants with water-pots suitable to one's size and strength, mentioned in the above *ślōka* is also found in the Śākuntala in the passage given below :—

राजा...अये, एतास्तपस्विकन्यकाः स्वप्रमाणानुरूपैः सेचनघटैर्बालपादपेभ्यः पयो दातुमित एवाभिवर्तन्ते ।

(Śāk. Act I, p. 25 ed. by N. B. Godbole, Bombay, 1926.)

In the *ślōka* given above from the fourteenth canto of the Raghuvaṁśa, it is implied that a lady's love towards a young plant she is rearing up, is akin to her love towards her child. The same idea is implied in a verse in the Meghadūta :—

तत्रागारं धनपतिगृहादुत्तरेणास्मदीयं । दूराल्लक्ष्यं सुरपतिधनुश्चारुणा तोरणेन । यस्योपान्ते कृतकतनयः कान्तया वर्धितो मे । हस्तप्राप्यस्तबकनमितो बालमन्दारवृक्षः ॥ (Megha. V. 44.)

There is also another point which we may mention in connection with the comparative study of the latter cantos of the Raghuvaṁśa and the Meghadūta. In the Raghuvaṁśa (XVI. 31) the river Narmadā is mentioned by the name of Revā, not as Narmadā itself. In the Meghadūta also, it is mentioned by the name of Revā. We hope that the above arguments and comparative study of the works of Kālidāsa will convince all scholars in Indology that the theory of Dr. Kunhan Raja is not acceptable and that Kālidāsa is not the author of only the first eight cantos

of the Raghuvaṁśa. To us it seems the very word Raghuvṁśa has a special significance. It implies the existence of a series of kings after Raghu and hints that the aim of Kālidāsa in writing it was to deal, not with the origination of a dynasty by Raghu, but with the life and deeds of such kings. If the Raghuvaṁśa originally stopped only with the eighth canto, it deals with the life of only a single king (Aja) after Raghu. But, as we have said, the very word 'Raghuvaṁśa' implies a series of kings after Raghu and so the epic could not have originally stopped with the eighth canto.

It is surprising that Dr. Kunhan Raja thinks[1] that the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki is later in date than the Raghuvṁśa. He quotes two *ślōkas* from the Rāmāyaṇa where the words 'Raghuvaṁśa' and 'Kumārasaṁbhava' occur, each in one of the two *ślōkas* and argues thus :—

"When a great poet has written two works and when in another work both the names (of those two works) are found, is it not more likely that the latter is also later in time than the two former? Is it likely that the author of the two former works took the titles from the latter?"[2] Yes, it is likely that Kālidāsa is posterior to Vālmīki and that the former took the cue to the titles of two of his works from the latter's famous epic. That Kālidāsa is posterior to Vālmīki is evident from the words of the former himself :—

अथवा कृतवाग्द्वारे वंशेऽस्मिन् पूर्वसूरिभिः (Raghu. I, 4)

The पूर्वसूरि referred here is, according to many authorities, Vālmīki, who is the author of the Rāmāyaṇa, though Dr. Kunhan Raja thinks that he is not its author and that it is not the first poetical production in the Sanskrit literature.[3] It is very likely that a writer took the cue to the titles of his works from a famous work (written before his time). Thus, to take an example from the English literature, Hardy took the cue to the title of one of his works from a line in the famous elegy of Gray. We cannot say that the Rāmāyaṇa is later in date than the Raghuvaṁśa, because the former contains in two cases the words रघुवंशस्य and कुमारसंभव. It may be noted that रघुवंशस्य चरितं is

1. Annals of Oriental Research, VI. pt. 1, page 25.
2. Ibid., p. 25.
3. Ibid., p. 25, fn. 27.

applied in the Rāmāyaṇa to the चरितं of Rāma (who was born in the dynasty of Raghu). But Kālidāsa uses रघुवंश in a different sense. So also he depicts the birth of Kumāra in a different manner from the account in the Rāmāyaṇa (Bāla-kāṇḍa, XXXVII) where the episode of the birth of Kumāra from Gaṅgā is given. It seems to us that the idea of writing an epic dealing with the life and deeds etc., of the kings of the dynasty of Raghu was suggested to Kālidāsa on reading 'रघुवंशस्य चरितं'. We cannot say that the Rāmāyaṇa is later than the Raghuvaṁśa, due to another reason also. It is not impossible that the *ślōkas* quoted from the Rāmāyaṇa wherein रघुवंशस्य and कुमारसंभव occur may be later interpolations.

We have already remarked above that the पूर्वसूरिभिः (in Raghu. I. 4) refers to Vālmīki. Kālidāsa says that the story he is going to narrate is already dealt with by some previous poet (or poets) and hints at Vālmīki in this context. So Kālidāsa implies that his way was made easy by the existence of the Rāmāyaṇa already. The Rāmāyaṇa deals with the story of Rāma. So Kālidāsa implies that the story of Rāma, which forms part of his epic, also, was already dealt with by Vālmīki and so the former's work was made easy (मणौ वज्रसमुत्कीर्णे सूत्रेस्यवास्ति मे गतिः, Raghu. I. 4).

If the Raghuvaṁśa stopped originally with the eighth canto, the story of Rāma does not come into its scope at all. The birth of Daśaratha is mentioned in the eighth canto (29 *ślōka*). But Kālidāsa, as shown above, implies by his own words in the first canto that the story of Rāma forms part of his epic. So his epic could not have stopped with the eighth canto only.

METRES AND MUSIC*

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1. Metres are closely allied with music, as they are intended for a musical recital; and if they are based upon different kinds of music, their nature must be essentially different. Sanskrit, Prakrit and Vernacular metres, when studied from this point of view, disclose three distinct varieties which are sharply distinguished from each other owing to the fact that they have at their basis three different varieties of music, representing the three different elements of it, current among us. It is true that in our well developed Saṅgīta Śāstra, all the three elements of music are closely welded together to produce a kind of harmonious music, but our poets were never anxious to be perfect musicians and have developed their metrical music on rather independent lines. The three elements of Music which I shall describe below, were utilized by them independently to produce their musical metres, though a sort of elementary blending of these was unavoidable even for them as we shall see below.

2. The three main varieties of music are (1) the Music of Voice-modulation or the Svara Saṅgīta; (2) the Music of Sound-variation or the Varṇa Saṅgīta; and (3) the Music of time-regulated accent or the Tāla Saṅgīta. The first variety depends upon the modulation *i. e.*, raising and lowering of the human voice (or the corresponding sound of a musical instrument), so as to produce different tones. The second variety is produced by a pleasant variation of short and long sounds which are employed in the composition of a metrical line. In this variety, the first kind of music is present in its elementary stage where there exist only three broadly distinguished tones, namely high, low and middle; but the chief pleasure is derived from the fixed arrangement of the short and long sounds at different places in the lines of the metrical composition. Similarly even in the first variety of music, short and long syllables do exist and are sung with a modulated voice; but their succession is not fixed and they occur at random, being thus unable to strike the mind with a peculiar sensation which is possible only when their succession follows a definite order. On the other hand, the third variety is much and essentially different from these two;

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in it the music is produced neither by the skilful modulation of the voice, nor by the fixed variation of short and long sounds, but simply by means of stressing the voice or sound after the lapse of a definite period measured by time-moments called the Mātrās *i. e.*, the Kāla-Mātrās. To produce the musical effect, this stressing has to be prominently done and to achieve this, it is generally made to accompany the strokes of the palms upon one another, or of the palms or sticks upon a time-keeping instrument like a hand-drum. The Sanskrit name for these strokes is Tāla, evidently derived from the root *taḍ* 'to strike'. This variety of music is essentially based on the well-regulated time-element and is wholly absent in the first two, even though time-element plays some part in the conventionally correct pronunciation of short and long sounds. On the other hand, the first two varieties are present in the third though only in their elementary forms. This third variety of music or the Tāla Saṅgīta is essentially popular in its origin. It appears to have been developed by the people from the regularized movements of their bodies and limbs required in a dance which usually accompanies popular music. I have fully explained the Tāla, the Tāla Saṅgīta and its popular origin in my article[1] on Apabhraṁśa Metress III (Mātrā Vṛttas and Tāla Vṛttas), paras 3 to 8.

3. The first of these three varieties of music lies at the basis of the Vedic metres. Ṛgvedic music is essentially the music of Voice-modulation which is still in its elementary stage, being based upon the three broadly distinguished accents or rather tones, namely, the Udātta, Anudātta and Svarita or the High, Low and Middle. The tones are still closely associated with the letters of a word and generally influence its meaning, though their chief value is musical. The Varṇas are not yet mutually distinuished as regards their musical value; or in other words, no difference is made between short and long sounds so far as the metrical music is concerned and any letter, whether short or long, is considered as the metrical unit in the Ṛgvedic metres. This being so, the Ṛgvedic metres are neither very numerous nor varied, variety being available only by the number

1. To be shortly published in the Radha Kumud Mookerji Commemoration Volume.

of lines in a stanza and the number of letters in each line of the stanza; otherwise the basic music of the three tones is the same everywhere. The division of a metrical line into its parts separated by the internal cæsura was not yet clearly recognized, much being left to the convenience and inclination of the individual poets. Purity and correctness of pronunciation of short and long letters was undoubtedly emphasized from the beginning; but so far as the metres are concerned, no distinction seems to have been made in respect of time taken for the pronunciation of short and long letters. Sometimes a poet shows a consciousness about the conventional time taken by *one* letter, whether short or long, for its pronunciation, and this happens as follows :—A line of a Vedic metre is supposed to contain a fixed number of letters; now and then, however, the line contains an additional letter or two. n some of these cases, the poet seems to have the idea that even with the addition of that letter or letters the line should not take more time for its pronunciation than is usually taken by such a line containing the usual number of letters. This could be done only by a resort to *quick pronunciation* of two or more letters in such a manner that they would take only as much time as is generally taken by one letter. For a fuller discussion of the point, cf. Oldenberg, Noten, Pt. I. p. 53. Here the underlying idea is that *one* letter whether short or long, should take a certain amount of time in its pronunuciation as a rule; but sometimes even *two* or *more* letters whether short or long, should be considered as equivalent to *one* so far as the metre is concerned, if they are pronounced within the time conventionally required for *one* letter. This metrical principle is very clearly laid down in the case of the Prākṛta metres[1] and is vastly followed by the Prākṛta and Apabhraṁśa poets. To come back to our point: In the Vedic metres the time-element does not yet seem to have been associated with the syllabic quantity of the individual letters; or in other words, the poet does not show any consciousness that a short letter must take less and a long letter must take more time say twice as much, in its pronunciation. In the above mentioned cases, what is implied is only that ordinarily *one*

1. वण्णावि तुरिंदपंठिदा दो तिण्णिवि एक्कु जाणेहु । Prākṛta Paiṅgalam, I. 5.

letter whether short or long, must take less time, say half as much, than *two* letters, regardless of their syllabic quantity, *i. e.* their shortness or length.

4. The constituent lines of the chief Vedic metres contain 5,8,10,11 or 12 letters. Both intentional and unintentional mixture of these lines of different length in a stanza is often seen. Lines of 11 letters are very often combined with those that seem to contain 10 or 12 letters. Such irregularities are due to various causes. The lines which seem to contain only 10 letters were originally correct lines of 11 letters each as they were pronounced by the poet himself ; but the number of letters was decreased owing to the Sandhi rules which developed later or were only optional at the time of composition and which were strictly employed at the time of the compilation of the Saṁhitā. The same is true of the lines of 7 letters occurring in the midst of those of 8 letters, or of the lines of 10 or 11 letters occurring in the midst of those of 12 letters. On the other hand, lines of 12 letters occur in the Triṣṭubh stanzas and lines of 9 letters in the Gāyatrī or Anuṣṭubh stanzas, either because of the poet's carelessness caused by an inconvenient word which he had to use in composing his line, or because, according to the then recognized principle of quick pronunciation as stated above, the line was considered by the poet himself as one of 11 letters or of 8 letters as the case may be, for the purposes of metre. Sometimes lines of 10 letters were constituted by two parallely constructed parts of 5 letters each. Stanzas composed entirely in such lines are found in the Ṛgveda ;[1] but they are also intermixed with lines of 11 letters in a Triṣṭubh stanza. Why they were so introduced cannot be definitely said ; but this much is certain that they contain an ***additional rhythm*** which is due to the parallel construction of the two parts. This parallel construction itself is due to the similarity of the variation of short and long sounds in them, *i. e.*, to the order of short and long letters which is nearly the same in both parts. It is in such lines that we first begin to feel a different type of music, namely the music of Sound-variation. This music is also felt to a large extent in the concluding parts of longer lines

1. See for example Rv. VII. 34. 1–21 ; 56. 1–10.

(*i. e.*, in their cadence), where short and long letters seem to follow a fixed order (producing the iambic rhythm); but this is quite often violated, because evidently it was not yet consciously adopted by the poets themselves. On the whole, the great potential charm of this kind of new music was not yet fully realized and utilized by the Ṛgvedic poets, whose metres, therefore, remained rather limited in their number and scope.

5. It is abundantly clear that the Vedic music of Voice-Modulation which is at the basis of the Vedic metres,* was at the same time being independently and separately cultivated in the schools of the Sāmaveda. The three basic tones became gradually developed into five or six, or sometimes, even seven tones as represented in the Sāmans or Melodies of the Sāmaveda. In these Sāmans, greater importance was attached to the tones produced by the modulation of voice and the actual letters of the text of the songs (which were usually the Ṛgvedic stanzas) were comparatively neglected, the vowels being often mutilated or changed according to the necessity of the music. It need not be doubted that this Vedic music cultivated in the schools of the Sāmaveda heralded the Post-Vedic Aryan music which classified the melodies as the Rāgas and the Rāgiṇis on the basis of the different arrangement of the seven principal tones, produced in three different pitches. In the later Vedic literature, *i. e.*, in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads, this older Vedic music of three tones naturally came to be regarded as obsolete when compared with the specialized music of the melodies of the Sāmaveda. It is, however, preserved till today only on account of the extreme tenacity of the orthodox keepers of the sacred Vedic Treasure. But for a long time, it was clearly supplanted by the music of the Sāmaveda and hence neglected by the Vedic Ṛṣis, who on that account, rather chose to express their thoughts in prose in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. The few stanzas that are found in the Upaniṣads are in the Anuṣṭubh and the Upajāti metres and have a ring of modernity about them when compared with the older Ṛgvedic Anuṣṭubhs and Triṣṭubhs. These represent a transitional stage in the development of these two Akṣara or rather Svara Vṛttas of the Vedic days into the full-fledged

Akṣara-gaṇa or rather Varṇa Vṛttas of the days of Classical Sanskrit, since they *unconsciously* follow certain order of short and long sounds producing a peculiar rhythm, though this was not yet systematically defined or followed.

6. It would appear that at the end of the Vedic period, for a long time, the Vedic Aryans were left without any really charming musical metres in which to compose their lines. The iambic rhythm which is noticed in the latter part of the old Ṛgvedic stanzas was evidently followed by the poets either by pure intuition or by an unconscious imitation of each other. They had not yet definitely hit upon the source of that rhythm, namely the variation of short and long sounds. But the discovery of it was inevitable and could not be delayed for long, particularly when the older music of the three tones was practically snatched away from their hands for special care and cultivation by the singers of the Sāmaveda. In course of time, it was gradually discovered that short and long letters were essentially different from each other in respect of their sound-value and syllabic quantity and that they also required different amount of time for their pronunciation. Roughly speaking, a long letter was found to be double the short one in respect of each of these three things. It was further discovered how a skilful variation of such short and long letters produce a peculiar kind of rhythm and music which can make the singing of a line really charming. The music in the Classical Sanskrit metres is essentially based upon this three-fold difference between the short and long letters. The letters hearafter came to be metrically measured by a different unit of quantity or volume called the Mātrā, or rather the Varṇamātrā, and by the convention of the metricians, a short letter was regarded as having one and a long letter two such units of Mātrās.[1] This Mātrā, *i. e.*, the Varṇmātrā, is wholly different from another Mātrā which is used as a measuring unit in the Tāla Vṛttas and which I have called the Kālamātrā to distinguish it from this Varṇamātrā. This Varṇamātrā is the only measuring unit in the case of the pure Mātrā Vṛttas, which will be described below.

1. The principle was recognized in pronunciation of Vedic letters as early as the Prātiśākya period; but its use for metres is not so early.

7. It seems that in the beginning, the poets employed this new music for the latter half of their metrical lines only, following the practice of their Vedic ancestors and the first metre to receive such a treatment was undoubtedly the Anuṣṭubh. In form, the Epic Anuṣṭubh, which is based upon this new kind of music, is exactly like its Vedic predecessor; but the order of short and long letters is fixed in the latter part of each of its four lines. Thus the 5th letter must always be short and the 6th always long. The 7th letter of the second and the fourth lines must be similarly short and the 8th long. This gives a full iambic rhythm to the latter part of each line, particularly at the end of each half. When examined from this point of view the Epic Anuṣṭubh is not merely one of the forms of the Vedic Anuṣṭubh, as is generally regarded, but represents an entirely *new type* of metre which owes its charm to an essentially different variety of music, namely, the Varṇa Saṅgīta or the Music of Sound-variation. In the early Vedic days when the music of tones or the Svara Saṅgīta was not highly developed, the Anuṣṭubh or the Triṣṭubh could still be a source of delight through its music of the three tones and naturally at that time the unconsciously employed music of Sound-variation could not come to the forefront. But the things had greatly changed after the special cultivation of the Svara Saṅgīta by the Sāmavedins and towards the end of the Vedic period, the elementary music of the three tones offered by the Anuṣṭubh or the Triṣṭubh ceased to delight the ear which was accustomed to hear more developed forms of it in the Sāmavedic melodies. Just then, the so far latent music of Sound-variation stepped forward and saved these two metres from falling into oblivion. Of these two metres, the Anuṣṭubh seems to have received this new treatment much earlier than the Triṣṭubh, and therefore has only half changed its form. As a matter of fact, the Epic Anuṣṭubh is still considered by many to be merely a *revised form* of its Vedic ancestor, and is not yet generally recognized as the *first* represensative of a *new*[1] *type* of metres essentially different from the Vedic Anuṣṭubh, because the two are based on two entirely different kinds of music. The general misunderstanding

1. Cf. आम्नायादन्यो नूतनश्छन्दसामवतारः ।—उत्तररामचरित II. 5. 1.

is partly due to the half-executed transformation of the old into the new type and partly to the non-recognition of the second type of music namely the Varṇa Saṅgīta in a clear-cut manner. In the case of the Triṣṭubh, the transformation and the switching on to the new music of Sound-variation was complete and so the Upajātis are considered as the descendents of the Triṣṭubh of the Vedas and not merely a revised form of it. In Upajāti, we recognize an entirely new *type* of metres, but not so in the Anuṣṭubh ; and this is because of the difference in the degree of their transformation. The transitional stage in the case of the Triṣṭubh however, is not entirely lost to us. It is preserved in many of the Vedic Gāthās which are composed in the irregular Triṣṭubh metre, such as are found for example in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa version of the Hariścandra episode. These Gāthās, as their name suggests, were intended to be *sung :* but probably not in the music of the three tones of the early Vedic stanzas, firstly because accents like the Udātta are not marked in them and secondly because that old music could not have been a source of delight at a time when a more highly developed form of it was existing elsewhere. It is, therefore, logical to assume that the Gāthās were adapted to the music of Sound-variation, though still in an unconscious manner.

8. The meters which follow in the wake of the Anuṣṭubh and the Upajāti which by the way are the only two prominent Epic metres, are all those Sanskrit metres of the Post-Epic period, which are known as the Classical Sanskrit metres or the Varṇa Vṛttas. In these, the metrical unit is Syllabic quantity as represented by a short letter and the source of music is the variation of Sounds as represented by short and long letters. For the sake of convenience, the letters are arranged in groups of three, and eight such groups or Gaṇas are generally recognized as forming the basis of the structure of the lines in such metres. But older writers like Virahāṅka, author of the Vṛttajātisamuccaya,[1] completely ignore these Gaṇas and describe the formation of the lines of these metres by a detailed enumeration of the short and long letters which ought to follow in a particular order. In the case of Virahāṅka, we sometimes find a few

1. Edited in the Journal of the BBRAS., 1929 ; 1932.

technical names like Narendra, Kara, Bhujagendra, Paṭaha, Dhvaja and Caraṇa employed for conveying different groups of short and long letters, the longest among these groups being the Bhujagendra which represents three short letters in succession followed by a long one. See JBBRAS, 1929, p. 77. But evidently, at least in the case of Virahāṅka, they appear to have been merely extended from their application in the Mātrā Vṛttas; cf. JBBRAS., 1932, pp. 2–3. In these metres the old Vedic principle of distinguishing between metres by the number of letters whieh their lines contain, is still observed and thus we get 26 main varieties of them according as their lines contain from 1 to 26 letters each. Each of these varieties gets a specific name like Uktā, Atyuktā and so on and the oldest book which records these names is, so far as I know, the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya. In addition to this principle, there is another and a new one, namely, of distinguishing between metres by the fixed order of short and long letters which occur in their lines. The very foundation of this new principle is as we saw above, the Varṇa Saṅgīta or the music of Sound-variation. It had primarily to be adopted for the purpose of distinguishing between those metres, which all of them contain the *same* number of letters in each of their four lines. In theory, the application of these two principles jointly would yield a very large number of metres; but in practice, only a few of them have been used by the Sanskrit poets. These few naturally then got distinctive names like Hariṇī, Mālinī, Śārdūlavikrīḍita and so on. Thus, in theory we could have many metres of the Anuṣṭubh or the Triṣṭubh class, *i. e.*, metres having 8 or 11 letters in each of their four lines; but actually we find that only a few of them are recorded by the metricians, even by Hemacandra, who is a very thoroughgoing writer in such matters. This is because the metricians generally record what is in vogue at their times among the poets. Out of the two principles of division mentioned above, the first is an older one and borrowed from the Vedic metricians; hence at Apabhraṁśa Metres, para 2 (Bombay University Journal, November, 1933, p. 32), I have described these metres as derived from the old Vedic metres. But the music on which they are based is essentially different from the one on which the Vedic metres are based, as explained in this article. Of course, it must

not be forgotten that the elementary music of three tones produced by Voice-modulation is bound to be present in all metres in one form or the other ; because it is this music which distinguishes a metrical composition from the prose one.

9. The third important variety of Music is the Tāla Saṅgīta, or the music of time-regulated stress or accentuation. This music is produced by the stress which regulates the recurring rest or break in a metrical line with the help of the time-element. This stress is indicated by means of a vocal accentuation which is generally accompanied by the strokes of the palms or of the musical instrument. This music of the stress or the Tāla Saṅgīta is essentially popular in its origin and may have been invented and developed by the masses from the rhythmically performed movements of their body and limbs in a dance. The bodily movements in a dance are guided and regulated by the element of time for producing the required rhythm and the regulation of the articulate sounds produced by the tongue by the same time-element is only the next natural step, since dance and music are indissolubly welded together. The metres which are based upon this variety of music must be described as the Tāla Vṛttas ; almost all of these Tāla Vṛttas were originally popular metres employed by the popular bards and also sung by them to the accompaniment of a time-keeping musical instrument and also of significant bodily movements and gestures. I have described the Tāla Vṛttas and their composition in detail at paras 3 to 8 in my article on 'Apabhramsa Metres III '.[1] In these the most important thing is the number of the time-moments or Kāla-Mātrās which must regularly intervene between the two stresses. Broadly speaking, there are four different Tālas in which 5,6,7 and 8 time-moments regularly elapse between the two stresses, so far as the Tāla Vṛttas are concerned. These groups of time-moments which intervene between the two stresses in a metrical line may be described as the Tāla Gaṇas, and they have to be kept separate by avoiding a long letter at their junction as explained in Apabhraṁśa Metres I (Bombay University Journal, Nov. 1933), para 19, p. 44. They are to be filled up either by means of properly pronounced short and long

1. See note on p. 203.

letters whose time-value is conventionally fixed. or by means of improperly pronounced short and long letters to which time-value is attached by the poet-singer according to his convenience, but against the convention, or sometimes even by silent rests or pauses when no letters or even vocalic sounds are pronounced at all. A metrical line may contain two or more Tāla Gaṇas and a stanza may contain two or more lines as in the case of the other metres.

10. There is one more variety of Indians metres, which in a way owes its origin to the Tāla Vṛttas and closely resembles them on account of its freedom of movement which is unrestricted by any considerations of short and long letters or of the order in which they ought to be employed. These metres are called the Mātrā Vṛttas. A stanza may contain from 2 to 8 lines, each of which is to be constituted with a definite amount of syllabic quantity represented by short and long letters employed in any order. A short letter represents one unit of such syllabic quantity and a long letter represents two. Absolute purity of pronunciation of short and long letters is pre-supposed and no room is left for an irregular pronunciation of these according to the whim of the poet. The total amount of syllabic quantity in a line is further divided into smaller groups of 2,3,4, 5 or 6 Mātrās and these groups have to be kept separate by avoiding a long letter at their junction as in the case of the Tāla Gaṇas. A definition of such a metre mentions the total number of Mātrās, *i. e.*, the total amount of syllabic quantity, which have to be employed in each line and further, how this total amount is to be divided into smaller Mātrā Gaṇas, keeping them absolutely separate from each other as said above. I have fully described the most important of these Mātrā Vṛttas namely, the Gāthā or Āryā at Apabhraṁśa Metres III[1] (Mātrā Vṛttas and Tāla Vṛttas), para 12. As explained in that article (paras 6 and 10), these Mātrā Vṛttas are most unmusical of all the metres ; for they have no positive music at their basis. They are not amenable to the Tāla Saṅgīta ; the Varṇa Saṅgīta exists in them only in a negative form (the requirement being the *avoidance* of long letters at particular places only), while the

1. See note on p. 203.

Svara Saṇgīta is present in them only in its most elementary form of the three tones broadly and conveniently distinguished from each other. On the one hand, they have cast off the bonds of the fixed order of short and long letters required in the Varṇa Vṛttas, while on the other they have freed themselves of all considerations of the Tāla, which it is very difficult to maintain for persons whose ears are not properly trained. Yet they are not as free on the whole as the Marāthī metre ovī which entirely casts off all restrictions even about the total amount of syllabic quantity or its arrangements into groups.

Sometimes the Prākṛta metricians describe among the Mātrā Vṛttas some metres which follow a fixed order of short and long letters at some places in their lines, in addition to their obedience to the usual Mātrā Gaṇas. This was evidently the result of spasmodic attempts to harness the Mātrā Vṛttas to the Varṇa Saṅgīta. One of the earliest and most prominent attempts of this kind is seen in the case of the Vaitālīya metre. This metre is of a frequent occurrence in the holy literature of the Jainas and the Buddhas. Very likely, it was originally a Tāla Vṛtta sung in some Tāla which we are unable to know for certain, at present. Its name bears a close resemblance to the name of a bard, *viz.*, the Vaitālika, who was so called because he sang his poetry in the different Tālas. When composed in the Māgadhī language, the Vaitālīya was called Māgadhikā as Virahāṅka tells us as VJS., IV. 28. Even then it is associated with the other name of a bard namely, the Māgadha. The latter part of the lines of this metre of four lines are made to obey a fixed order of short and long letters, while their first part is made up of Varṇa-mātrās alone. We are at present unable to say how and when this metre was first composed. But it is significant that the literature where this metre frequently occurs was dominated by the deeply learned and educated Sādhus of the Buddhist and the Jinistic orders. It is also important to note that it was contemporaneous with the Epic Anuṣṭubh and may have been influenced by it in point of its structure. Hence it is not impossible that the Vaitālīya was originally a Tāla Vṛtta and was turned into a Mātrā Vṛtta by the learned Sādhus who had no ear for Tāla, in the manner described by me at Apabhraṁśa Metres III (Mātrā Vṛttas and Tāla Vṛttas), para 10, and further that the latter part of its lines was harnessed to the Varṇa Saṅgīta in imitation of the Epic Anuṣṭubh.

THE ĀRYĀ-ŚATAKA OF APPAYYA DĪKṢITA

By N. A. Gore, M.A., Poona.

The Manuscript Material :—The *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Aufrecht records a single manuscript only of the *Āryā-śataka* of Appayya Dīkṣita.[1] The manuscript belonged to the private manuscript collection of Mr. Govinda Shastri Nirantar of Nasik and probably due to this fact the work does not seem to have attracted the attention of scholars even though it was ascribed to Appayya Dīkṣita. Recently, however, I discovered or more correctly speaking re-discovered a manuscript of the *Āryā-Śataka* of Appyya Dīkṣita in the MSS. collection at the Mīmāṁsā Vidyālaya of Poona. When I sent a description of it, along with that of other MSS. in the Collection to my friend Dr. V. Raghavan for being used in the preparation of the New Catalogus Catalogorum which is undertaken by the University of Madras, he pointed out to me the desirability of publishing it and supplied me information about two more MSS. of the same work—one belonging to the MSS. Collection of Pandit Raghunatha Shastri Patankar of Rajapur and the other to the Prājña Pāṭha Śālā, Wai. Through the courtesy of Pandit Raghunatha Shastri Patankar and Pandit Laksmana Shastri Joshi, the Hon. Secretary of the Pājña Pāṭha Śālā, I have been able to secure both of these manuscripts.

As yet we do not know the whereabouts of the Nasik Ms. The manuscripts belonging to the late Govinda Shastri Nirantar have been recently purchased by the Bombay University Library but some of the manuscripts in the collection as originally listed by Dr. Bhandarkar are missing from the collection secured by the Library. Unfortunately, the *Āryā-Śataka* of Appayy Dīkṣita is one of the missing MSS. I record here its description as given by Dr. Bhandarkar as a clue to the identification of the Nirantar, manuscript, if by chance some more manuscripts of the *Āryā-Śataka* are discovered laser on :–No. 44 आर्याशतकम्—पत्राणि ५ ; पंक्तयः १० ; अक्षराणि ३८ ; ग्रंथसंख्या १२५ ; कर्ता

1. Āryā-śataka by Appayya Dīkṣita, BL. 44—CC. II. 10.

[BL=List of Sanskrit MSS. in Private Libraries in the Bombay Presidency, Prepared by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Bombay 1893.]

अप्पय्यदीक्षित-आरंभः। दयया यदीयया वाक् नवरसरुचिरा सुधाधिकोदेति। शरणागतचिंतितदं तं शिवचिंतामणिं वंदे ॥ समाप्तिः। निर्व्याधि मे शरीरं निराधि चेतः सदा समाधिपरम्। कुरु शर्व सर्व सर्वदा त्वं नान्यं कामं वृणे कंचित् ॥९९॥ आर्यापतेः पदाब्जे निहितं शतपद्यपत्रमयपुष्पम्। आर्याशतं सुकृतिनां हृदयामोदं सदा वहतु ॥ १०० ॥

At present, therefore, we have the *Āryā-śataka* preserved only in three MSS. at Poona, Rajapur and Wai. As all the MSS. are complete, it is possible to bring out a reliable edition of the text of the *Āryā-śataka* with the help of these three MSS.

Description of the Manuscripts :—

1. The Mīmāṁsā Vidyālaya MS. (= MS. M) :

Size—9 inches by 4·7 inches.

Foll.—6 ; lines 11 to a page and about 30 letters to a line.

Material—Hand-made paper.

Script—Devanāgarī. Handwritting bold, uniform and legible.

Extent—Complete.

Age—The MS. appears to be about 150 or 200 years' old. Marginal corrections are found on 9 out of 12 pages. Yellow pigment is used to remove unwanted letters or parts thereof. The MS. is carefully revised and is mostly correct.

Begins—(fol. 1^a) श्रीरस्तु। दयया यदीयया वाक् नवरसरुचिरा etc.

Ends—(fol. 6^b) आर्याशतं सुकृतिनां हृदयामोदं सदा वहतु ॥ १०० ॥

Colophon—श्रीमदप्पय्यदीक्षितविरचितार्याशतकं संपूर्णं ॥ श्रीसांबसदाशिवार्पणमस्तु ॥ कलंकी शीतांशुः कुटिलहृदया सापि तटिनी पशुर्नंदी सोयं कठिनहृदया शैलतनया। निषेधादन्येषां सततसमवेते दयितया कृतां वा मद्भक्तिं भव भवति विज्ञापयति कः ॥

अपय्यदीक्षितकृत-शतक पत्रें ६.

2. The Rajapur Manuscript (= MS. R) :

Size—6·8 inches by 5·5 inches.

Foll.—6 ; lines 20 to a page and about 16 to 20 letters to a line.

Material—Mill-made paper.

Script—Devanāgarī. Handwriting beautiful, small, uniform and legible.

Extent—Complete.

Age—The MS. must be assigned to the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century A. D., as the watermark on fol. 1 has the following name and date in it: AMIRIE & .... 1875.

Begins—(fol. 1^b) श्रीगणेशायनमः दयया यदीयया वाक् नवरसरुचिरा etc.

Ends—(fol. 10^a) आर्याशतं सुकृतिनां हृदयामोदं सदा वहतु ॥१००॥

Colophon—इति श्रीमद्भरद्वाजकुलतीलकश्रीमदप्पैयादीक्षितविरचितं शैवार्याशतकं समाप्तं ॥ ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

Fol. 1^a has श्रीयुत भिकाजी गोविंद बोरवणकर, राजापुर इत्येतैः प्रदत्तम्

श्रीसंस्कृत पुस्तक संग्रहालय बंदर राजापुर, जिल्हा, रत्नागिरी

and श्रीमदप्पैया दीक्षितविरचितं शैवार्या शतकम्। and on fol. 6^b is written भि. गो. बो. दत्तम्। श्रीमदप्पैयादीक्षितकृत-शैवार्याशतकम् ॥

The Ms. is written breadth-wise, like a book; and each line contains a half of the stanza. It does not bear marks of revision and contains many scribal errors.

3. The Prājña Pāṭha Śālā Manuscript (= MS. P):

Size—Of foll. 1–5, 18 inches by 5·6 inches; of fol. 6, 9 inches by 5·6 inches.

Foll.—6; lines 37–41 to a page and about 20 letters to a line; fol. 6 has only 16 lines.

Material—Hand-made paper of a rough texture.

Script—Devanāgarī. Hand-writing very bold, uniform and legible. The MS. is written only on one side of the paper. On fol. 6^b some monatory accout is entered in *Moḍī* script.

Extent—Complete.

Age—1802 A. D. See colophon below.

Begins—(fol. 1^a) शिवार्या प्रारंभः ॥ आपय्या दीक्षितविरचित. श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ दयया यदीयया वाक् नवरसरुचिरा etc.

Ends—(fol. 6^a) आर्याशतं सुकृतिनां हृदयामोदं सदा वहतु ॥ १०० ॥

Colophom—इतीश्रीमद्दापय्यादीक्षितिविरचित शिवार्याशतक समाप्तं ॥ ॥ छ ॥ श्रीसांबार्पणमस्तु शके १७२४ चैत्र वद्य १२ गुरुवासरे इदं पुस्तकं समाप्तं ॥ ॥ छ ॥ ॥ छ ॥

The Text :—All the MSS. present essentially the same text, the variant readings notwithstanding. But the stzs. 26, 27, 28 of M and P are given by the R in the order of 28, 26, 27 respectively ; 98th of M and P is omitted by R ; 99th is counted as the 98th and कुरु बहुशास्त्राभ्यासं साधय योगांश्च तेन सुलभोऽहं। कथमत्र 'नायमात्मे 'त्यादिश्रुण्वंन्मनः कुर्यात् ॥ is given as the 99th. The stz. कलंकीशितांशुः etc. in the Śikhariṇī metre found in M after the colophon is omitted by R and P.

The Title :—Though the title 'Śaivāryā-Śataka' of the R or Śivāryā-Śataka of the P is more significant than the mere 'Āryā-śataka' of the M, the latter is to be found in the last stanza of the Poem itself, is the title of the oldest of the three MSS. used by me and it is found in the Nirantar Ms. also and hence it has been adopted by me.

The Author :—In the MSS. M and P the colophon gives the author's name as श्रीमद्पय्य (or य्या) दीक्षित or श्रीमद्दाप्पय्यादीक्षित only, while that of the MS. R gives it as भरद्वाजकुलतिलकश्रीमदपैया दीक्षित. I have seen three lists[1] of the works of the celebrated Appayya Dīkṣita but the *Āryā-śataka* or Śiva° or Śaivāryā-Śataka is not to be found in any one of them. On the other hand, Dr. V. Raghavan has shown[2] how some of the works which are assigned to the great Appayya Dīkṣita are really the works of other authors bearing the same or a similar name. Two of these latter belonged to the family of the great Appaya Dīkṣita

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1. (*a*) *Śivādvaita-nirṇaya* of Appayya Dīkṣita ed. by S. S. Suryanarayan Sastri, University of Madras, 1929—Intro. pp. 10–15.

(*b*) *Madva-tantra-mukha-mardanam* of Appayya Dīkṣita, Ānandāśrama Sk. Series, No. 113, Poona, 1940.—Intro. pp. 6–7.

(*c*) —Do— ed. by Pandit Rāmanātha Dīkṣita, Benares 1941.—Intro. pp. 3–4.

2. (*a*) "Appayya Dīkṣitas II and III", Proc. X, All India Ori. Conf. pp. 176–180.

(*b*) "Some Appayya Dīkṣitas", Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras, Vol. VI, pt. 1.

the son of Raṅgarājādvarin, of Bharadvāja gotra and are designated by Dr. Raghavan as Appaya Dīkṣita II and Appayya Dīkṣita III. In the absence, therefore, of an evidence of more definite nature such as the mention of the names of the parents, the mere statement that the author is Appaya Dīkṣita belonging to the Bharadvāja gotra would not justify us in assigning the present work to the celebrated Appaya Dīkṣita I (1558–1630 A. D. or 1520–1592 A. D.). But if we take into consideration the fact that the great Appayya Dīkṣita, though not a bigot, was an ardent devotee of Śiva, the wording of the colophon of the MS. R—भरद्वाजकुलतिलकश्रीमदप्पैया दीक्षित—and the contents of the *Āryā-śataka* I hope we would not be far wrong if we tentatively ascribe the *Āryā-śataka* to the great Appayya Dīkṣita himself.

The Poem :—The *Āryā-śataka* is so named because it consists of 100 stanzas in Āryā metre. It is written in easy, flowing and graceful language. In it the author fervently appeals to God Śiva to receive him into His favour, to destroy his enemy in the form of worldly existence, to remove his poverty and to produce a sense of devotion in him. The poem may be divided into two parts of fifty stanzas each. In the first part, which is a sort of a dramatic monologue the author imagines that as he approaches Lord Śiva, He would raise objections to the qualifications of the author to be a recipient of His Grace. The author meets these objections by witty and punning references to the several epithets of Śiva and explains away the defects in himself :—e. g.

चेतसि चिंतय वामां वा, मां वा, न द्विधा स्थितस्याहम् ।
इति यदि वदसि दयाब्धे वामार्धे सा तवाप्यस्ति ॥ ५ ॥
मित्रकलत्रसुतादीन्ध्यायस्यनिशं न मां क्षणं जातु ।
यदि कुप्यसि मयि दीने तुलयामि त्वां कथं सह तैः ॥ ६ ॥
ललनालोलविलोकनजितमित्यवमन्यसे कथं मां त्वम् ।
त्वयि जायार्धशरीरे शिव शिव नालोकनानुभवः ॥ ९ ॥
गुणहीनतां तनूजे मयि दृष्ट्वा किं परित्यजस्येवम् ।
उचितं गुणिनस्त्वेतन्निर्गुणरूपस्य तेऽनुचितम् ॥ १५ ॥
पुत्रः पितृवत्पुत्री मातृवदित्थं ममात्र को दोषः ।
अहमपि भोगासक्तः प्रकृतिर्जाता विषादवती ॥ ११ ॥

Śiva is called पञ्चानन. The author has punningly expressed this idea in the following stanza :

कामक्रोधकटाभ्यां मदजलधारां निरंकुशे स्रवति ।
मत्कृतदुष्कृतकरिणि प्रकटा पञ्चास्यता तेऽस्तु ॥ १६ ॥

The same fact is expressed by a reference to the system of *Village Pañcāyats* :

तव कोऽहं त्वं मम कः पञ्चस्वेवं विचारयस्वेति ।
ब्रूषे दीनदयाब्धे पञ्चमुखत्वं त्वयि व्यक्तम् ॥ २३ ॥

He has utilized the names विश्वेश and भूतपति to show how it is necessary for Lord Śiva to protect him, if these names are to be significant :

पालय वा मां मा वा मत्तनुभूता नु पंचभूततति: ।
पोष्यावश्यं भवता भविता नो चेन्न भूतपतिः ॥ ४१ ॥
नाङ्गीकृतो मया त्वं तत एव न दर्शनं मम तवास्ति ।
इति नोत्तरं प्रदेयं शिव शिव विश्वेशनामासि ॥ ४५ ॥

If Śiva were to say that the author should not expect to get anything from Him as He was only दिगंबर, and so he should go to another donor, it is pointed out that he is also श्रीकण्ठ (having the goddess of Wealth in His throat) :

याचस्वान्यं धनिनं भविता तव को दिगम्बराल्लाभः ।
मां मा प्रतारयैवं स्यातः श्रीकण्ठनामासि ॥ २४ ॥

Similarly there are about 15 references to the अर्धनारीनटेश्वर form of God Śiva, e. g. ललना कलितं महः (2) त्वयि जायार्धशरीरे (९); and so on. The name महादेव suggests the following idea to the poet's mind :

सस्ये तृणे च वृष्टिं तुल्यां देवः सदैव विदधाति ।
देवो महान् बत त्वं गुरुलघुवार्तां कथं कुरुषे ॥ ३३ ॥

The mythological allusion that कुबेर has been made the lord of wealth by Śiva has given rise to the following three stanzas

यक्षार्थीनां रक्षां त्र्यक्ष निधीनां कुतो नु वा कुरुषे ।
साक्षान्मनुष्यधर्मोऽप्यहह कथं नु विस्मृतिर्मम ते ॥ ३८ ॥
धनदे सखित्वमेतत्तव यत्तत्रास्ति विस्मयः क इव ।
मयि निर्धने तदास्तां त्रिजगति चित्रं कियन्नावि ॥ ३९ ॥

सखितारूपनिधानं वित्तनिधानं द्विधा धनं तव यत् ।
नैककरे नृपनीतिस्तत्रान्यतरन्निधेहि मयि ॥ ४० ॥

If Śiva refuses to favour the author, on the ground of his being a half-hearted devotee, the author justifies himself by pointing out that everything about Śiva is 'half' and incomplete :

वपुरर्धं वामार्धं शिरसि शशी सोपि भूषणं तेऽर्धम् ।
मामपि तवार्धभक्तं शिव शिव देहे न धारयसि ॥ १२ ॥

Remembering that Śiva had burnt Cupid (मनोभव) to ashes, the poet requests Him to destroy his poverty for that also like Cupid infatuates his mind :

दारिद्र्याख्यमनोभूः क्लीबं चेतोऽपि मोहयत्यनिशम् ।
एवं लीनं कर्तुं धन्यः कोन्यस्त्वदन्योस्ति ॥ ५० ॥

In the second part the author exhorts his heart and the five senses of perception to devote themselves to Śiva : e. g.

चेतः शृणु मद्वचनं मा कुरु रचनं मनोरथानां त्वम् ।
शरणं प्रयाहि शर्वं सर्वं सकृदेव सोर्पयिता ॥ ५६ ॥
रसने रसान् समस्तान् रसयित्वा तद्विवेचने कुशला ।
असि तद्वदाशु पश्येः शिवनाम्नः को रसोयमिति ॥ ६३ ॥
लोचन कोभूल्लाभः सर्वानेव द्विलोचनान् वीक्ष्य ।
दृष्टस्त्रिलोचनश्चेत् सफलं जन्मव ते भावि ॥ ६६ ॥
श्रवण सखे शृणु मे त्वं यद्यपि जातो बहुश्रुतोस्ति भवान् ।
शब्दातीतं श्रोतुं शिवमन्त्रात्को परो मन्त्रः ॥ ६९ ॥
घ्राण प्राणसखा मे भवसि भवान् पार्थिवोस्ति किमुवान्यत् ।
शिवपदकमलामोदे मोदं गन्तासि यदि शीघ्रम् ॥ ७० ॥
रामास्पर्शसुखे ते नितरां भो विग्रहाग्रहोस्ति यदि ।
आलिंगयार्धरामं रामाभिन्नः स्वयं भवसि ॥ ७१ ॥

Just as pun and wit are a feature of the first part, metaphor is prominently seen in the second, for example, the चेतः is identified with विहग, मधुकर, सदागति, चकोर, कुरंग and उपल, the रसना with पल्लव and so on.

These are allusions to the mythological stories of मार्कण्डेय attaining immortality, though he was destined to be short-lived,

to that of उपमन्यु obtaining the क्षीरसमुद्र through Śiva's favour, to that of व्याध securing salvation even though he placed his foot on the head of Śiva, and of अर्जुन fighting with Śiva in the form of किरात:—

दिष्टोद्दिष्टं दास्याम्यन्यश्रेष्टं यदि स्फुटं वाक्यम् ।
दत्ता कथं त्वयासावजरामरता मृकण्डजने: ॥ ३४ ॥

नादत्तं प्राप्नोतीत्येतद्वाक्यं प्रतारणामात्रम् ।
उपमन्युना कदा वा कस्मै दुग्धोदधिर्दत्तः ॥ ३५ ॥

अपराधकारिणं मां मत्वा शंभो यदि त्यजस्येव ।
व्याधः शिरसि पदं ते दत्वा न जगाम किं मुक्तिम् ॥ ७४ ॥

पार्थः कलहं धनुषा ताडनमपि मूर्ध्नि ते न किं कृतवान् ।
तत्रापि ते प्रसन्नं चेतः सन्ने मयि कुतो न ॥ ७५ ॥

Then the poet praises Lord Śiva in the अर्धनारीश्वर form in the last 10 stanzas and lastly prays that his body and mind should be free from affliction, his heart devoted to contemplation —this is all that he desires through the favour of Śiva and nothing else.

Though this Poem cannot be called an example of the उत्तम काव्य, the expressed sense being equally if not more striking them the suggested sense, [e. g. चेतःकीर विहारं परिहर परितः प्रयत्नेन । अत्तुं कालबिडालो धावति शिवपञ्जरं प्रविश ॥ ५४ ॥], it is a delightful composition on account of the power of the author to express a striking idea in happy, flowing language. What is particularly note-worthy is the undercurrent of humour that runs throughout the poem. But as we read it, the indelible impression is left on our mind that the author, inspite of his light-heartedness and humour, was a sincere devotee of Śiva and his main concern is that Lord Śiva should bless him with His favour. From the several references[1] to the अर्धनारीश्वर form of Śiva that are found in this short poem, it may be suggested that the author was a worshipper of Śiva in his अर्धनारीश्वर form.[2]

1. Stzs. 2, 5, 9, 12, 14, 44, 61, 71, 73, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 98.

2. Paper read at the XII All India Oriental Conference, Benares, 1943.

श्रीमदप्पय्यदीक्षितविरचितम्

आर्याशतकम् ।

दयया यदीयया वाङ्नवरसरुचिरा सुधाधिकोदेति ।
शरणागतचिन्तितदं तं शिवचिन्तामणिं वन्दे ॥ १ ॥

शिरसि सिताංशुकलाढ्यं करुणापीयूषपूरितं नयने ।
स्मितदुग्धमुग्धवदनं ललनाकलितं महः कलये ॥ २ ॥

अन्ते चिन्तयते यत्तत्तामेतीति[१] च त्वया गदितम् ।
शिव तव चरणद्वन्द्वध्यानान्निर्द्वन्द्वता चित्रम् ॥ ३ ॥

द्रुतमुद्धर हर[२] संहर संहर भववैरिणं त्वतित्वरया ।
भव भवतोऽपि भवोऽयं रिपुरेतन्निन्दितं जगति ॥ ४ ॥

चेतसि चिन्तय वामां वा मां न द्विधा[३]स्थितस्याहम् ।
इति यदि वदसि दयाब्धे वामार्धे सा तवाप्यस्ति ॥ ५ ॥

मित्रकलत्रसुतादीन् ध्यायस्यनिशं न मां क्षणं जातु ।
यदि कुप्यसि मयि दीने तुलयामि त्वां कथं सह तैः ॥ ६ ॥

मत्कृतदुष्कृतशान्तिर्विषवह्निजलादियातनया ।
यदि निश्चयस्तवायं प्रेषय गरलाग्निगङ्गौघान् ॥ ७ ॥

भोगं विहाय योगं साधय दास्ये तवापि परभागम् ।
मम किं न वावकाशस्त्वद्भूषाभोगिनां मध्ये ॥ ८ ॥

ललनालोलविलोकनजितमित्यवमन्यसे कथं मां त्वम् ।
त्वयि जायार्धशरीरे शिव[४] शिव नाऽऽलोकनानुभवः ॥ ९ ॥

स्मरणादनुपदमीदृग्विस्मृतिशीलो न वल्लभोऽसि मम ।
उत्पाद्याशां[५] भक्तकुलेभ्रा वृत्तिस्तवैवेयम् ॥ १० ॥

पुत्रः पितृवत्पुत्री मातृवदित्थं ममात्र को दोषः ।
अहमपि भोगासक्तः प्रकृतिर्जाता विषादवती ॥ ११ ॥

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१. यत्तत्तदेतीति—R.
२. संहर हर दुर्धर भव°—R.
३. °स्थितश्चाहम्—R.
४. शिव शिव लोके हि ननुमिवः (?)—R.
५ उत्पाटयाशां—R.

वपुरर्धं वामार्धं शिरसि शशी सोऽपि भूषणं तेऽर्धम् ।
मामपि तवार्धभक्तं शिव शिव देहे न धारयसि ॥ १२ ॥

स्तनपं शिशुं त्वदीयं पालय साम्ब द्रुतं न पासि यदि ।
जगतः पितेति गीतं यातं नामेति जानीहि ॥ १३ ॥

मातरि हित्वा बालं कार्याकुलधीः पिता बहिर्याति ।
शिव बत शक्नोषि कथं स्वाङ्कान्मन्मातरं मोक्तुम्[६] ॥ १४ ॥

गुणहीनतां तनूजे मयि दृष्ट्वा किं परित्यजस्येवम्[७] ।
उचितं गुणिनस्त्वेतन्निर्गुणरूपस्य तेऽनुचितम् ॥ १५ ॥

कामक्रोधकटाभ्यां मदजलधारां निरङ्कुशे स्रवति ।
मत्कृतदुष्कृतकरिणि प्रकटा पञ्चास्यता तेऽस्तु ॥ १६ ॥

त्वद्धीनं मां दीनं दृष्ट्वा विषयातिरागसम्बद्धम्[८] ।
[९]धावत्यकीर्तिरेषा नाथः शक्तोप्युदासीनः ॥ १७ ॥

अरिभिर्जितैरशक्तैर्विज्ञाप्यं सेवकैः प्रभोर्नीतिः ।
विषयैर्जितोऽस्मि शम्भो तव यच्छ्लाघ्यं तदाचरय ॥ १८ ॥

संरक्ष्यते स्वदासैर्यद्यद्वस्तु प्रभोरभीष्टतरम् ।
दासस्तवेष्टकामः कान्तां कनकं कथं त्यजेयमहम् ॥ १९ ॥

पापी पापं सुकृती सुकृतं भुङ्क्ते ममात्र किं नु गतम् ।
इत्यौदास्यमयुक्तं [१०]भृत्याकीर्तिः प्रभोरेव ॥ २० ॥

विकलेऽतिदीनचित्ते विषयाशामात्रधारिणि नितान्तम् ।
मयि रोषतः कियत् ते वद[११] वद शम्भो यशो भावि ॥ २१ ॥

स्वगृहे भुवनत्रितये योगक्षेमे मुखानि चत्वारि ।
मत्प्रतिवचनं हि विना पञ्चमवदनस्य कुत्र गतिः ॥ २२ ॥

तव कोऽहं त्वं मम कः पञ्चस्वेवं विचारयस्वेति ।
ब्रूषे दीनदयाब्धे पञ्चमुखत्वं त्वयि व्यक्तम् ॥ २३ ॥

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६. भोक्तुं—R.
७. परित्यजस्येव—P.
८. संबद्धम्—M, P.
९. धावन्त्यकीर्ति—M, P.
१०. भक्त्याकीर्तिः—R.
११. वद भो शंभो यशं भवति—R.

याचस्वान्यं धनिनं भविता तव को दिगम्बराल्लाभः ।
मां[१२] मा प्रतारयैवं ख्यातः श्रीकण्ठनामासि ॥ २४ ॥

वसनाशनप्रदातरि मयि जीवति किं समाकुलस्त्वमिति ।
दोहाय मोच्यमानो वत्सः किं न त्वरामयते ॥ २५ ॥

[१३]पातकराशिरितीदं त्वयाभिधानं श्रुतं न तद्दृष्टम् ।
तद्दर्शनकुतुकं यदि मां द्रष्टुं किं विलम्बसे देव ॥ २६ ॥

पातकराशिरसि त्वं पश्याम्यत एव नाहमिति वदसि ।
पातकरूपाज्ञाने शिव तव सर्वज्ञताभङ्गः ॥ २७ ॥

पापं पापमितीदं करोषि शिव किं मुधा बुधान् भ्रान्तान् ।
तत्सत्यं चेन्न कथं त्वयानुभूतं न दृष्टं वा ॥ २८ ॥

पापे[१४] लोकानुभवः स एव मानं [१५]ममाप्यननुभूते ।
न हि परकीयानुभवः ज्ञातुं शक्यः परेणापि ॥ २९ ॥

लोकाभिन्नः सोऽहं वक्तुं वाक्यं ह्युपक्रमस्तव चेत् ।
सिद्धा मनोरथा मे त्वत्तः कस्यापि लोकस्य ॥ ३० ॥

अतिवल्गनं ममैतन्मूढत्वं यद्यपि प्रभोः पुरतः ।
दीनः करोमि किं वा मद्विषये को[१६] निवेदयति ॥ ३१ ॥

लघुरसि किं त्वयि दयया मा[१७] मा मंस्थाः शिवेति सहसा त्वम् ।
भारो भुवोऽस्मि धृत्वा स्वकरे तुलयाशु मां शम्भो ॥ ३२ ॥

सस्ये तृणे च वृष्टिं तुल्यां देवः सदैव विदधाति ।
देवो महान् बत त्वं गुरुलघुवार्तां कथं कुरुषे ॥ ३३ ॥

दिष्टोद्दिष्टं दास्याम्यन्यन्नेष्टं यदि स्फुटं वाक्यम् ।
दत्ता कथं त्वयासावजरामरता [१८]मृकण्डजनेः ॥ ३४ ॥

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१२. मा मा प्रता°—R.

१३. R gives stzs. 26, 27, 28 above in the order of 27, 28, 26.

१४. पापो—R. १५. ममाप्यनुभूते—R.

१६. को वा निवे°—R. १७. मां मा—R.

१८. मृकुण्ड°—M ; मृकुण्डु°—P.

नादत्तं प्राप्नोतीत्येतद्वाक्यं प्रतारणामात्रम् ।
उपमन्युना कदा वा कस्मै [१९]दुग्धोदधिर्दत्तः ॥ ३५ ॥
प्रबलतरोन्मादाढ्यं त्वामप्यगणय्य धावमानं च ।
मच्चेतोपस्मारं नियमय शम्भो पदाभ्यां ते ॥ ३६ ॥
आशापिशाचिका मां भ्रमयति परितो दशस्वपि दिशासु ।
स्वीये [२०]पिशाचवर्गे सेवार्थे किं[२१] न योजयसि ॥ ३७ ॥
यक्षाधीनां रक्षां त्र्यक्ष निधीनां कुतो नु वा कुरुषे ।
साक्षान्मनुष्यधर्माऽप्यहह[२२] कथं नु विस्मृतिर्मम ते ॥ ३८ ॥
धनदे सखित्वमेतत् तव यत्तत्रास्ति विस्मयः क इव ।
मयि निर्धने तदास्तां त्रिजगति चित्रं कियद्भावि ॥ ३९ ॥
सखितारूपनिधानं वित्तनिधानं द्विधा धनं तव यत् ।
नैककरे नृप नीतिस्तत्रान्यतरन्निधेहि[२३] मयि ॥ ४० ॥
पालय वा[२४] मां मा वा मत्तनुभूता तु पञ्चभूततति: ।
पोष्यावश्यं भवता भविता नो चेन्न भूतपतिः ॥ ४१ ॥
अतिकोमलं मनस्ते मुनिभिर्गीतं कुतोऽधुना कठिनम् ।
मन्ये [२५]विषाशनार्थं [२६]कठिनं चेतस्त्वया विहितम् ॥ ४२ ॥
मां द्रष्टुमष्टमूर्ते करुणा तेऽद्यापि किं न वोल्लसति ।
भिक्षाप्रसङ्गतो वा[२७] कियतां नो यासि सदनानि ॥ ४३ ॥
वित्ताधिपः सखा ते भार्या देहे तवान्नपूर्णाख्या ।
[२८]ऊरीकृतं न दूरीकुरुषे भिक्षाटनमपीश[२९] ॥ ४४ ॥

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१९. महोदधि°—P. P writes क्षीरो first, cancels it by **putting short** double parallel lines (=) on it and writes महो **after it.**

२०. पिशाचिवर्गे—R, P. २१. किं नियोजयसि—**M.**

२२. °धर्माऽह्ह—M ; °धर्माह्यहह—R.

२३. °स्तत्रान्यतरं नि°—R ; स्तत्रान्यतरं न्निधेहि—P.

२४. मां वा मा वा—R. २५. विषनाशनार्थं—R.

२६. कठिणं—R, M. २७. प्रसङ्गतोद्धा कियंति नो—R.

२८. उररी°—R. २९. भिक्षाटण°—R, P.

नाङ्गीकृतो मया त्वं तत एव न दर्शनं मम तवास्ति ।
इति नोत्तरं प्रदेयं शिव शिव विश्वेशनामासि ॥ ४५ ॥

यदि देहगेहरूपं ददासि देशाधिकारकार्यं मे ।
रसनाख्यलेखपत्रे[३०] सुदृढां कुरु नाममुद्रां ते ॥ ४६ ॥

रसनोक्तं कुरु सर्वं शिव तव नामाधिमुद्रितास्तीयम् ।
गणयासि मुद्रां न हि चेत् प्रभुतोच्छिन्ना[३१] तवैव स्यात् ॥ ४७ ॥

अत्याटिनं करालं भिक्षायुक्तं कपालशूलकरम् ।
[३२]मद्दारिद्र्यं भैरवरूपं कुरु चार्धचन्द्रयुतम् ॥ ४८ ॥

[३३]दारिद्र्यचण्डरश्मौ प्रतपति केदारवच्च मयि शुष्के ।
[३४]जलधरतायां सत्यां त्वयि शिव नाद्यापि समुपैषि ॥ ४९ ॥

दारिद्र्याख्यमनोभूः क्लीबं चेतोऽपि मोहयत्यनिशम् ।
एनं लीनं कर्तुं धन्यः [३५]कोऽन्यस्त्वदन्योऽस्ति ॥ ५० ॥

भालानलाक्षियुक्तस्त्रिजगति नान्यो मदन्य इति ।
गर्वं मा वह यावद्दारिद्र्याग्निः कपाले मे ॥ ५१ ॥

चेतः कुरु मा कलहं तव वैक्लव्येऽपि शम्भुना प्रभुणा ।
न वदति यद्यपि भर्ता तवोपकर्ता स एवास्ति ॥ ५२ ॥

अयि चित्त वित्तलेशे सहजप्रेम्णा कियन्नु [३६]लुब्धमसि ।
न तथापि तद्वियोगः केवलमास्ते शिवेनापि ॥ ५३ ॥

चेतःकीर विहारं परिहर परितः स्वयं प्रयत्नेन ।
अत्तुं कालबिडालो धावति [३७]शिवपञ्जरं प्रविश ॥ ५४ ॥

चेतः सदागते त्वं प्रत्याशावात्ययानुगतमूर्तिः ।
मा वह विषयारण्ये लीनो भव सच्चिदाकाशे ॥ ५५ ॥

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३०. °लेख्यपत्रे—R. ३१. प्रभुता छिन्ना—R.
३२. तद्दारिद्र्ये भै°—R. ३३. दारिद्र्ये चण्ड°—R.
३४. जलधरता या सत्यं तव शिव नाद्यापि समुपैति—R.
३५. कोन्यः स्त्वद°—M, P ; कोन्यः स्वद°—R.
३६. कियन्नु लब्ध°—M ; कियन्न लुब्ध°—P.
३७. °पञ्जरं सदा प्रविश—R.

चेतः शृणु मद्वचनं मा कुरु रचनं मनोरथानां त्वम् ।
शरणं प्रयाहि शर्वं सर्वं[३८] सकृदेव सोऽर्पयिता ॥ ५६ ॥
भ्रातः शृणु मच्चेतो मा नय कालं त्वितस्ततो भ्रमणात् ।
कालक्षेपेच्छा चेदवलम्बय कालकालं त्वम् ॥ ५७ ॥
अयि चेतोविहग[३९] त्वं विषयारण्ये भ्रमन्नसि श्रान्तः ।
विश्रामकामना चेच्छिवकल्परुहे चिरं तिष्ठ ॥ ५८ ॥
चेतोमधुकर दूरं दूरं कमलाशया[४०] कुतो यासि ।
ध्यानादनुपदमेतच्छिवपदकमलं तवायाति ॥ ५९ ॥
चेतश्चकोर तापं भूपं संसेव्य किं वृथा यासि ।
यदि चन्द्रिकाभिलाषो निकषाभव चन्द्रचूडस्य ॥ ६० ॥
चेतःकुरङ्ग गीते रक्तं चेतस्तवास्त्वनवगीते[४१] ।
भगवद्गीतागीते नगजाकलिते[४२] तदारचय ॥ ६१ ॥
रसने निन्दाव्यसने पैशून्ये वा न वाग्मितां याहि ।
त्रिपुरारिनाममालां जितकालां शीलयाशु त्वम् ॥ ६२ ॥
रसने रसान् समस्तान् रसयित्वा तद्विवेचने कुशला ।
असि तद् [४३]वदाशु पश्येः शिवनाम्नः को रसोऽयमिति ॥ ६३ ॥
शिवनामसल्लतां[४४] त्वं रसनापल्लव कदापि न विहातुम् ।
यदि वाञ्छसे[४५] तदा मा कोमलतां सर्वथा जहिहि ॥ ६४ ॥
हालाहलस्य तापः शशिना गङ्गाम्बुना न यदि याति ।
शिव मा गृहाण भुजगान् मद्रसनापल्लवे स्वपिहि ॥ ६५ ॥
लोचन कोऽभूल्लाभः सर्वानेव द्विलोचनान् वीक्ष्य ।
दृष्टस्त्रिलोचनश्चेत् सफलं जन्मैव ते भावि ॥ ६६ ॥

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३८. R om. सर्वं. ३९. °विहगस्त्वं—P.
४०. कमलाशयान् कुतो—P.
४१. चेतस्त्वयास्त्यनवगीते—R ; चेतःस्तवास्ति नवगीते—P.
४२. गिरिजा°—P.
४३. असि तच्चेदाशु [Probably for चेत्तदाशु] पश्य शिवनाम्न्यत्र को—R.
४४. °सत्कृतां—M. ४५. वांछसि—P.

नालोकते यदि त्वां [४६]मन्नेत्रं कृष्णमस्तु मुखमस्य ।
त्वां त्र्यक्ष दक्षतां मे दर्शय नयनावलोकस्य ॥ ६७ ॥
त्वं लोचनान्धकारे द्रष्टुं[४७] वस्त्वन्धकारभिन्नं किम् ।
वाञ्छस्यनेन सङ्गेऽदृश्यमपीदं त्वया दृश्यम् ॥ ६८ ॥
श्रवण सखे शृणु मे[४८] त्वं यद्यपि जातो बहुश्रुतोऽस्ति भवान् ।
शब्दातीतं श्रोतुं शिवमन्त्रात् कोऽपरो मन्त्रः ॥ ६९ ॥
[४९]घ्राण प्राणसखा मे भवसि भवान् पार्थिवोऽस्ति किमु वान्यत् ।
शिवपदकमलामोदे मोदं गन्तासि यदि शीघ्रम् ॥ ७० ॥
रामास्पर्शसुखे ते नितरां भो विग्रहाग्रहोऽस्ति यदि ।
[५०]आलिङ्गयार्धरामं रामाऽभिन्नः स्वयं भवसि ॥ ७१ ॥
विग्रह विग्रहमेव त्वं कुरु देवेन नाऽमुना सख्यम् ।
रुचिरप्यस्मिन् शम्भौ जनयत्यरुचिं स्वदेहेऽपि ॥ ७२ ॥
[५१]संमीलयाशु रामां त्वद्वामाङ्गान्मया समं शम्भो ।
जातं ममापि यस्माद् दुःखेनार्धं शरीरमिदम् ॥ ७३ ॥
अपराधकारिणं मां मत्वा शम्भो यदि त्यजस्येवम्[५२] ।
व्याधः शिरसि पदं ते दत्वा न जगाम किं मुक्तिम् ॥ ७४ ॥
पार्थः कलहं धनुषा ताडनमपि मूर्ध्नि ते न किं कृतवान् ।
तत्रापि ते प्रसन्नं चेतः सन्ने मयि कुतो न ॥ ७५ ॥
त्वयि तुष्टे रुष्टे वा शिव का चिन्ता स्वदुःखभङ्गे मे ।
उष्णं वानुष्णं वा[५३] शमयति सलिलं सदैवाग्निम् ॥ ७६ ॥
दोषाकरे द्विजिह्वे रतिमतिशयितां करोषि यदि शम्भो ।
अहमस्मि तथा वितथा कुरुषे [५४]मां दृक्पथातीतम् ॥ ७७ ॥

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४६. यन्मत्रं [Probably for यन्नेत्रं]—R.
४७. दृष्टं वस्त्वंधकारीमिन्नां किं—R. द्रष्टुं वस्त्वंधकारिं किं—M, P.
४८. P om. मे.
४९. प्राण प्रा°—R.
५०. मालिंग तया सार्द्धं for आलिंगयार्धरामं—R ; भवानस्ति for भवसि—R.
५१. संलीनयाशु—R.
५२. त्यजस्येव—M.
५३. P om. वा.
५४. मा—R.

चेतो मदीयमेतत्सेवाचौर्ये यदि प्रसक्तं ते ।
दण्डय नितरां शम्भो सर्वस्वं लुण्ठयैतस्य ॥ ७८ ॥
सदनं प्रत्यागमनं कुशलप्रश्नोक्तिरस्तु दूरतरे ।
आलोकनेऽपि शम्भो यदि सन्देहः कथं जीवे ॥ ७९ ॥
आवाहितः स्वभक्तैस्त्वरयैवायासि[55] सर्वपाषाणे ।
चित्तोपले मदीये हे शिव वस्तुं कुतोऽस्यलसः ॥ ८० ॥
वृषभे पशौ दया ते कियती शम्भो पशुप्रियोऽसि यदि ।
विषयविषाशनतोऽहं पशुरेवास्मीति मां पाहि ॥ ८१ ॥
त्वयि दृष्ट्वौदासीन्यं तत्स्पर्धातो विवर्धते दैन्यम् ।
मयि तज्जेतुं त्वरया प्रेषय निकटेऽस्ति यत् सैन्यम् ॥ ८२ ॥
परिपालयाम्यहं त्वां निकटेन मया[56] किमस्ति ते कार्यम् ।
मैवं दूरे रमणे सुभृताऽपि[57] न मोदते साध्वी ॥ ८३ ॥
कतिकतिवारं जननं तव नो जातं न मत्स्मृतिः कापि ।
इति कुपितोऽसि यदि त्वत्पदयोर्निदधामि मूर्धानम् ॥ ८४ ॥
शिव शङ्करः स्मरारे किञ्चित्प्रष्टव्यमस्ति तत्कथय ।
वञ्चनमेव करिष्यसि किं वा कालान्तरे प्रीतिम् ॥ ८५ ॥
यो यन्न[58] वेत्ति दुःखं कर्म स तस्मिन्नियोजयतु शम्भो ।
भिक्षादुःखं जानंस्तत्र कथं मां नियोजयसि ॥ ८६ ॥
काकूक्तिर्मुखदैन्यं शिव मे बाष्पस्तथाश्रुसम्पातः ।
त्वय्येकस्मिन्पुरुषे[59] सर्वमिदं निष्फलं भवति ॥ ८७ ॥
शिव देहि मे स्वभक्तिं तृष्णा स्वयमेव यास्यति ततो मे ।
पतिमन्यत्र विषक्तं दृष्ट्वा कान्ता न किं त्यजति ॥ ८८ ॥
गुणहीनोऽपि शिवाहं त्वत्करमुक्तोऽपि तत्पदं यास्ये ।
भ्रष्टोऽपि भूपहस्ताद्गुणतोऽपि शरो यथा लक्ष्यम् ॥ ८९ ॥

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५५. °त्वरयैवासि—R.
५६. ममास्ति ते कार्यं—R.
५७. सुभृता नो मो°—R.
५८. यो यं न—M, R.
५९. परुषे—M (where original पु is changed to प by means of yellow pigment).

भक्तजनेष्वनुरक्तं धरणीधरकन्यया परिष्वक्तम् ।
प्रख्यातनामधेयं जयतितरां भागधेयं मे ॥ ९० ॥

फणिकुण्डलं वहन्ती[६०] श्रवणे ताटङ्कमप्यपरभागे ।
सितशोणकान्तियुक्ता काचिन्मद्भासना जयति ॥ ९१ ॥

[६१]आलिङ्गितोऽपि सव्ये शम्पातत्या शिवः प्रकृतितोऽयम् ।
करुणाम्बुपूर्णगर्भः कश्चिद्धाराधरो जयति ॥ ९२ ॥

जटिलं शिरःप्रदेशे निटिले कुटिलं गले तथा नीलम् ।
हृदयीकृताद्रिबालं [६२]विलसति कालं जयत् तेजः ॥ ९३ ॥

धनुरेकत्र पिनाकं सशरं बिभ्रत् तथाऽपरत्राऽपि
शरमैक्षवं च चापं किञ्चित् तत् प्रेम मे जयति ॥ ९४ ॥

वाञ्छितवितरणशीलं[६३] विचित्रलीलं निरालवालं च[६४] ।
ललनालतैकतानं कलये शिवकल्पभूमिरुहम् ॥ ९५ ॥

परिहृतदुर्जनतिमिरं नगजानन्दैकसिन्धुवृद्धिकरम्[६५] ।
नन्दितभक्तचकोरं वन्दे चन्द्रोदयं कञ्चित् ॥ ९६ ॥

निखिलनिगमैकदुग्धां [६६]दानविदग्धां शुकादिमुनिदुग्धाम् ।
वपुषा सदैव मुग्धां कलये[६७] शिवकामधेनुमहम् ॥ ९७ ॥

[६८]नित्यप्रभाभिरामं विदलितकामं सदार्धधृतभामम् ।
हृदि कोमलं निकामं श्रीशिवचिन्तामणिं वन्दे ॥ ९८ ॥

निर्व्याधि मे शरीरं निराधि चेतः सदा समाधिपरम् ।
कुरु शर्व सर्वदा त्वं नान्यं कामं वृणे कञ्चित् ॥ ९९ ॥

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६०. वहंति—R, P.

६१. आलिंगितोपि सव्या शंपार्वत्या शिवप्रकृतितोयं—R.

६२. विकसति—R ; विलसितकालं—P. ६३. °विवरण°—R.

६४. तं for च—R. ६५. °सिद्धिवृद्धि°—R.

६६. दानवदुग्धां—R. ६७. मुग्धां शिवकामदुघां निकाममवलंबे—R.

६८. This stanza is om. by R and निर्व्याधि मे etc. is given as the 98th and कुरु बहुशास्त्राभ्यासं साधय योगांश्च तेन सुलभोऽहम् ।
कथमत्र नायमात्मेत्यादि शृण्वंन्मनः कुर्यात् ॥ is given as the 99th.

आर्यापतेः पदाब्जे निहितं शतपद्यपत्रमयपुष्पम् ।
आर्याशतं सुकृतिनां हृदयामोदं सदा वहतु ॥ १०० ॥

[६९]श्रीमदप्पय्यदीक्षितविरचितार्याशतकं सम्पूर्णम् ॥

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६९. The colophon in M: श्रीमदपय्यदीक्षितविरचितार्याशतकं संपूर्ण ॥ श्रीसांबसदाशिवार्पणमस्तु ॥ कलंकी शीतांशुः कुटिलहृदया सापि तटिनी पशुर्नंदी सोयं कठिणहृदया शैलतनया । निषेधादन्येषां सततसमवेते दयितया कृतां वा मद्भक्तिं भव भवति विज्ञापयति कः ॥ ॥ ॥

अपय्यादीक्षितकृतशतक पत्रें ६.

The colophon in R: इति श्रीमद्भरद्वाजकुलतीलकश्रीमदपैयादीक्षितविरचितं शैवार्याशतकं समाप्तं ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

The colophon in P: इति श्रीमद्दापय्यादीक्षितिविरचिताशिवार्याशतकं समाप्तं ॥ ॥ छ ॥ श्रीसांबार्पणमस्तु शके १७२४ चैत्र वद्य १२ गुरुवासरे इदं पुस्तकं समाप्तं ॥ ॥ छ ॥ ॥ छ ॥ ॥ छ ॥ ॥ छ ॥

REVIEWS

Anūpasiṁhaguṇāvatāra of Viṭṭhala Kṛṣṇa. Edited with English translation and Sanskrit notes by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. Pp. Dm. v, 130. Anup Sanskrit Library, 1942. Price Re. 1–4

The volume under review is the Dedicatory Volume in the Ganga Sanskrit Series, which was undertaken by the Govt. of Bikaner as one of the benefactions to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of the late Maharaja Shri Ganga Singhji Bahadur. It is well known to oriental scholars that the Bikaner State possesses one of the finest collections of Sanskrit Manuscripts in India. It has been named after the illustrious ruler of Bikaner, Maharaja Shri Anup Singhji (1669–1698 A. D.) for it was to his initiative that the Library owes its existence. It is in the fitness of things that the first volume in the series started under the auspices of the Anup Sanskrit Library should extol the virtues of Maharaja Anup Singhji.

The Anūpsiṁha-Guṇāvatāra is a short poem divided into 10 sections and consists of 103 stanzas in diverse metres. The poet, Viṭṭhala Kṛiṣṇa who was most probably a contemporory of Shri Anupsinghji brings out his greatness in respect of his majesty, physical beauty, generosity, valour and world-wide fame, mostly in hyperbolical terms, as is to be expected in works of such type.

It is quite appropriate that the choice of editing this work has fallen on Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, for he has played an important part in the starting of the series snd the re-organization of the Library. He has added the English translation and added brief explanatory and critical notes, under the text of each stanza. It is to be regretted that for circumstances beyond his control, the learned editor could not publish the Introduction explaining the editorial method, an account of the manuscript and the available information about the poet and his other works. The Introduction by Mr. K. M. Panikkar, the minister for Public Health and Education gives a brief account of the life of Maharaja Anup Singhji and the Anup Sanskrit. Library.

It is hoped that this series will constitute a valuable addition to the existing Sanskrit Series and bring to light many important works which are available only in the manuscript Libraries of the country.

N. A. G.

History and Philosophy of Lingāyat Religion, being an Introduction to Liṅgadhāraṇacandrikā of Nandikeśvara. By M. R. Sakhare, M.A., T.D. Size Dm. Pp. xxiv, 682, 76, 104, 250, 20. 1942. Price Rs. 15.

This weighty volume is yet another contribution in recent times to our knowledge of the important and influential sect of the Vīraśaivas or the Liṅgāyats. If Principal S. C. Nandimath's 'A Hand-book of Vīraśaivism', published in November 1941, gives in a clear-cut and concise manner the salient facts about the Vīraśaiva sect, the main feature of Mr. Sakhare's book is an exhaustive treatment of the same subject. In fact Mr. Sakhare has brought out two books in one volume. He has edited afresh the Liṅgadhāraṇacandrikā of Nandikeśvara with the help of one printed edition and two MSS. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, and has added a complete translation and exhaustive notes to it. The notes evince great labour and much learning of the editor and are doubtless very useful for the correct understanding of the text. The introduction besides dealing with the author of the Liṅgadhāraṇacandrikā and his work and the commentary on the L. C. (ch. XII), gives a detailed information about the various phases and schools of Śaivism (ch. III, IV, V, VI and X) and the Liṅgāyata and Vīraśaiva (ch. I), the Āgamas (ch. VII), the meaning of Śivaliṅga (ch. VIII), Iṣṭaliṅga and Image worship (ch. IX), the rise of the Liṅgāyata Religion and its Founder (ch. XI) and Philosophy and practice of Liṅgāyata religion and lastly the status and the literature and scriptures of the Liṅgāyata religion (ch. XIV and XV).

It would have been better if the author had followed the standard system of transliterating Sanskrit words and resisted the temptation of overloading his book with lengthy quotations, which however interesting in themselves, have no great relevancy to the main subject, Otherwise the book is bound to be very useful for a detailed study of the philosophy and tenets of the Liṅgāyata Religion or Vīraśaivism.

N. A. G.

The Bhāratī— A quarterly journal edited by Pandit Balkrishna Hardas and Mr. D. K. Garde, M. A. Annual subscription Rs. 4. Nagpur.

This journal, published by the Bharatiya Sanskritika Vidyapeetha, an Institution recently founded with the express aim of spreading the knowledge of Hindu culture. promises to be a useful addition to the several journals devoted to the propagation of the study of Ancient Indian Literature and culture. This second number of the 1st Vol. contains interesting articles on "In the Realm of Self-Realization" by Prof. R. D. Murkute, "The Science of Religion", being the notes from lectures of Shri 'Apprabuddha,' "The Korkus of Melghat" (who according to the author are neither Dravidians nor the descendents of the supposed pre-Aryans. They are high-class Kshatriyas fallen into the state of a jungle tribe...) and "The Bharatiya View of History" by Mr. Yerkuntwar. We have in this issue also a detailed notice of Alexis Carret's inspiring book, "Man the Unknown." We wish the Journal a long and prosperous career.

N. A. G.

भारतगाथा by D. C. Datta, M.A., Professor of English, Maharaja's College, Jaipur, 1943.

This is a short Sanskrit poem in one hundred Mandākrāntā stanzas. The poet, although a professor of English, shows remarkable mastery in composing this poem in a sweet and fluent style. He eulogises Viṣṇu in his ten incarnations, praises Śaṅkara and his philosophy, and extols the efforts of Caitanya, the Bengali saint, to abolish the evils of untouchability. Then he describes the ideal life lived by the ancient Hindus and aptly contrasts it with the degradation that the Hindus have come to. The last quarter of the poem deals with nature-description, but the erotic strain therein looks to be rather out of place when compared with the sincere patriotism and intense love of Mother Bhārata in stanzas 71, 100, etc. There are real flashes of nice similes in stanzas 6, 31, 37, 42, etc. Let us hope that the learned professor will give us more of his muse in the same easy-flowing language of his.

D. G. KOPARKAR.

Meghadūta in English Verse, by D. C. Datta, M.A., Jaipur, 1943.

Here is yet another translation of the immortal poem, the Cloud-Messenger, of Kālidāsa. A translator must be expert in both the languages from which and into which he is translating. Professor Datta teaches English and his knowledge of Sanskrit is well-attested by his Bhārata-Gāthā. Even a cursory perusal of the English rendering is sufficient to give proof enough to rank the translator if not among Rückert and Ryder, in the forefront. The spirit of the original is retained as far as is possible in a translation and we expect more translations from Prof. Datta's pen.

D. G. KOPARKAR.

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Saṅketanidhi (संकेतनिधि) of Rāmadayalu with English trans. and Notes by Pt. V. Subrahmanya Sastri. Much importance is given in this work to 12 Avasthās of Planets and apt quotations from Adbhutasāgara have been given. The discussion on Prenatal epoch (Ādhāna) is interesting. Bangalore 1944. Demi. Pp. XVI, 354, 15. Rs. 4–8

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THE BIRTH OF THE PAÑCAJANAS

By The Late R. Shamasastry

From the story of Kaca and Devayānī, it is known that Kaca cursed Devayānī to marry a non-Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, and that Devayānī cursed him saying that the art of reviving the dead which he learnt from her father might be of no use to him and that it might retain its efficacy in the hand of another person to whom he would impart it. Once Devayānī and her friend Śarmiṣṭhā with other girls were bathing in a river, leaving their dress on the bank of the river. After the bath was over, Śarmiṣṭhā mistook Devayānī's garment for her own and wore it. Devayānī did not brook a Kṣatriya girl wearing her cloth and upbraided her. A quarrel ensued resulting in the king's daughter shoving Devayānī into a waterless well, and going home with the rest. Yayāti who was hunting in the forest happened to hear cries for help from the well, took up Devayānī, who in consequence married him. She requested her father to prevail upon Vṛṣaparvan to give in marriage his daughter Śarmiṣṭhā also to Yayāti. So making her a co-wife, she made her a slave to herself and prevented Yayāti from seeing her. He, however, met her secretly and got a son from her named Druhyu. On Devayānī's questioning her how she happened to have a son, she replied that a Ṛṣi of solar splendour gave the child as a boon to her. Devayānī had two sons called Yadu and Turvasu, while Śarmiṣṭhā had two more called Anu and Puru. With tears in her eyes Devayānī went to her father Uśanas and told him how she had only two

sons and how Śarmiṣṭhā had three. Uśanas cursed Yayāti to become old. The king requested Uśanas to enable him to have his youth again. He replied and said "Exchange your old age with the youth of any one of your sons who may be willing to do so." Puru gave his youth and took up his old age in return.

Recovering youth is the characteristic of the minor planets and the moon. Hence Yayāti must be Jupiter. Devayānī, as already pointed out, is either of the two paths from Rohiṇī to Maghā, or from Anurādhā to Śravaṇa. It is only near the asterism Maghā that Jupiter appeared to come out from the belly of Venus and Maghā, as already pointed out. This means in other words that it is only in Devayāna or Devayānī that Jupiter could happen to be near Venus, but not in Pitṛyāna paths. Hence the curse that he would lose the art of reviving himself from the dead. In other places he would not appear to come out from the belly of Venus, but only he would be revived by others after learning the art from him before. This is an astronomical problem to be verified by experts. The effect of Kaca's curse of Devayānī is that by her marrying a Kṣatriya she would get only sons of lower caste, like Yadu or Mercury of Śudra caste and Turvasu, Venus, of Kṣatriya or Vaiśya caste. Some times Venus is called a Brāhmaṇa.

Now to continue the story of Yayāti, like Triśanku he could only go as far as Brahmaloka, that is, the moon's world. Once he went up and met Indra. There ensued a discourse between them. In reply to the question put by Indra to him as to the merits of his penance, he overvalued his penance and was, therefore, cursed by Indra to fall down like Triśanku, but stopped in the sky. He met there Aṣṭaka, Pratardana, Vasumanas, and Śibi (four planets), who were ready to give him the results of their own penance and raise him up. Refusing this gift, he said that he was satisfied with what he had and did not like to enjoy what others earned. Pointing to some five chariots on the celestial path, they asked him whose chariots they were. He replied that they were the chariots of the very beings that were talking with him. They all ascended the chariots and went up. Among them Śibi went faster and surpassed the others in swiftness.

Here Śibi, as pointed out elsewhere, is the moon. Yayāti is Jupiter ; the other three must be three other planets leaving Mercury who is confined to his dark chamber. Anu, as already shown, is Saturn ; Druhyu is Mars ; Puru is Jupiter ; Yadu is Mercury ; and Turvasu must be Venus. I may be wrong in my identification. Rectification of my errors, if any, can be effected by scholars. Yet there can, however, be no doubt that the stories are all of planets. If there is still any doubt here, what is stated in the Ṛgveda and the Upaniṣads about the heavenly tree and the seven Ṛṣis will, I am sure, be enough to prove my contention beyond doubt. The Bṛhad Ār. 11, 2 says :—" On this Camasa cup with root or bottom upward and cavities downward is placed the Yaśas of many forms. On the outskirts are seated the seven Ṛṣis and also the eighth Vāk, word, who is one in samvid, consciousness, with Brahma. The Upaniṣad itself explains this by saying that the head is the cup with the skull as bottom upward, and the cavities (of eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth or gullet) downward ; that the Prāṇas are the fame of many forms ; that the same Prāṇas are the seven Ṛṣis who are these two—Bharadvāja this and Gautama that, these other two—Viśvāmitra this and Jamadagni that, these other two—Vasiṣṭha this and Kaśyapa that, and that this Vāk is Attri, for food is eaten by Vāk."

Since Attri and Vāk forming a pair are identified as the tongue, the tasting and talking organ, in the Upaniṣad itself, it follows that the remaining three pairs of the Ṛṣis are to be identified with the remaining three sensory organs in the face. They are the two eyes, the two nostrils, and the two ears. As Yāska places the two Nāsatyas, or Aśvins, on the nose, we may take the two nostrils to be Mercury and Venus. The two eyes are the sun and the moon ; and the two ears can not but be Saturn and Jupiter. As Mercury and Venus are always near the sun, they are placed here on the nose which is nearer to the eyes than the years. Besides Yāska places them on the nose. The Heavenly tree in which the seven Prāṇas are kept is thus described in the Ṛgveda 1. 24, 7 :—King Varuṇa of hallowed might sustains in the rootless or supportless region the stem of the tree ; these rays whose root is above stream

downward. May those rays (Prāṇas) be well established within us.

The same tree is described not only in Ṛv. X 73, 8, but also in the Tait. Ār. 1, 11 and the Bhagavadgītā 15, 1-3. In Ṛv. 1. 164, 21 the sun and the moon are said to have their abode in that Pippala or Aśvattha tree. Corresponding to the seven Prāṇas in the microcosm, the human body, there are the seven planets in the macrocosm, the universe. Since Yāska placed the two moving, and not the stationary, Aśvins on the nose, and since the Bṛhadāraṇyaka placed Attri (Agni Vaiśvānara identical with Mars) in the mouth, we can very well identify the remaining four Prāṇas with the Sun, the Moon, the planet Saturn, and Jupiter. The names of the seven Ṛṣis are: Attri, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni. They can be identified with the seven planets as :— Attri and Vasiṣṭha are the Sun and Mars respectively. Very often they are interchanged with one another. Kaśyapa is Saturn; Bharadvāja is Mercury; Gautama is Venus; Viśvāmitra, is the Moon; and Jamadagni is Jupiter. Other names of the Ṛṣis are as follows :—

Attri, Bhṛgu, Kutsa, Vasiṣṭha, Gautama, Kaśyapa, Angiras. They are the Sun, Venus, Mercury, Mars, the Moon, Saturn, and Jupiter.

In this list we are obliged to identify Gautama with the Moon, as the names of other Ṛṣis unmistakably suggest the planets with whom they are to be identified.

The seven sons of Aditi are no other than these seven planets. They are Dhātar, the Moon; Aryamā, Jupiter; Mitra, Mars; Varuṇa, Saturn; Aṁśu, Mercury; Bhaga, Venus; and Indra, the Sun. Here there is uncertainty in the case of Dhātar and Mitra; if we take Mitra as the Moon, we have to take Dhātar as Mars. The seven Ṛṣis referred to in the verse "Sakamjanam saptatham" are the same seven planets. Indra, the Sun, is said there to have been born as single, while the rest are born in pairs. The pairs must be friends to each other, as twins. While there is no doubt left about the identity of Aryaman with Jupiter, Bhaga with Venus, Aṁśu with Mercury, Varuṇa, with Saturn, Indra with the Sun, the uncertainty in the

case of Mitra and Dhātar is due to the use of these two words in various senses. Since Mars as Agni is given much importance in the Vedas, I think he is first mentioned in the list. So Dhātar seems to be Mars. The seven Ṛkṣas near the Pole-star are different from these. In the 93rd chapter of the Anuśāsanaparva of the Mahābhārata there is an interesting story about the seven Ṛṣis, which helps us to identify them with the seven planets. It is as follows :—

There lived in a forest the seven Ṛṣis,—Attri, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Viśvāmitra, and Jamadagni. Among them was Arundhati, the wife of Vasiṣṭha, and a Śūdra couple named Paśusakha, and his wife Gaṇḍā. Once they all went to the sacrifice performed by king Vriṣadarbhi. As he had given away all his wealth, he gave them his own son as Dakshiṇā, largess. On an occasion of a famine the boy died of hunger. The Ṛṣis had nothing to eat. King Vṛṣadarbhi offered them wealth together with horses and cows. They declined to take gifts. They attempted to cook the dead boy, but it was uncookable. The king attempted to give them Udumbara fruits with a gold coin concealed in the fruits. They refused even the fruits. Being angry with them, the king performed a sacrifice from whioh a Yātudhānī woman rose up. The king ordered the Rākṣasī to ascertain the names of the Ṛṣis, the Sūdra couple, and their names, and destroy them all. She went and stationed herself on the bank of a lake of lotus-plants. The Ṛṣis went to the lake to bathe and collect the lotus-stalks for their food. They were all very lean. Then a stout ascetic with a dog came there and sat on the bank. The Rākṣasī failed to ascertain their names, nor the name of the new ascetic who called himself Sunassakhasakha. The Rākṣasī asked the ascetic the meaning of the name. The ascetic grew wild and killed the Rākṣasī with his trident. The Ṛṣis kept their collection of the lotus-stalks on the bank and their bathing in the lake. When they came to the bank, they found their collection of the stalks missing. They denounced the thief, whoever he was. The ascetic, however, blessed the thief saying that the thief might marry his daughter to a priest. As the ascetic blessed the thief the Ṛṣis said that he was the real thief. The asoetic admitted the charge and said that he was

Indra and that the stalks were in his belly. "I came here to protect you from the Rākṣasī. Now you are safe". So saying he disappeared.

The forest mentioned in the story is the region from the sign Gemini to the end of the sign Vergo. The lake is the asterism Puṣya which is called a lake. As the summer begins and rages when the sun passes through that region in the celestial sphere, it is called the place of famine in the story. The Śūdra couple among the seven are Mercury and Venus. (Venus becomes Śūdra by marrying the Śūdra Mercury.) King Vṛṣadarbhi is the node of Mars. The Yātudhānī is also the same. The boy of twelve years is Jupiter whose death is his occultation by the Moon. The lotus-stalks near the pond represent the Moon on the day of New-Moon in Puṣya or near Puṣya. There was a solar eclipse which involved all the planets there. But Indra succeeded in killing the eclipse-demon and rescuing himself and the planets. The dog with the ascetic or Indra is the dog-star, Serius. The daughter of the ascetic or Indra who stole the lotus is Sūryā, the Sun's daughter who is to be married to the Moon, the priest or Adhvaryu, the Fire-priest. Arundhatī is either the ray of light of Agni, the Vasiṣṭha, or Mars, or an asterism near Mars.

I think that this is the meaning of the story and that the author or authors of the Epics knew the meaning of the Vedas quite well and manipulated these stories to make the Vedic hymns intelligible even to those who were not conversant with astronomy. But the key remained unused and both the lock and the key rusted and have proved almost useless unless scholars make them useful by careful oiling and washing.

SAMĀPHALA OF ŚAṀKARA

By K. M. K. Sarma, Bikaner

Samāphala of Śaṁkara is a rare Tājaka treatise. So far as I am aware, it has not so far received a notice anywhere. The author is Śaṁkara, son of Rāmacandra, a descendant of Haribhaṭṭa of Mudgalagotra. He belonged to a place called Pannādhur on the northern bank of the Gautamī and adjoining the temple of Madhyameśvara and the confluence of Kadrū and Suparṇā. The work was composed earlier than Śaka 1529 (A. D. 1607), which is the date of the Ms. noticed here.

The only Ms. of the work which is noticed here, belongs to the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. Here is a description of it.

No. 4955. Country made paper. 22 folio. 8″ × 4½″. 11 lines in a page. 22 syllables in a line. Devanāgarī script. Damaged and discoloured.

Copying was finished on Friday, the 9th day of the dark fortnight of Nabhas (Śrāvaṇa) corresponding to the solar month of Kanyā of Plavaṅga, Śaka 1529. The scribe was Dāmodarabhaṭṭa, son of Vidyādharabhaṭṭa.

Begins :

प्रणम्य लक्ष्मीं स्वगुरोः पदाब्जरम्यं महाविघ्नहरं गणेशम् ।
वक्ष्ये स्फुटं ताजिकशास्त्रतोऽहं समाफलं सद्‌गुरुसंप्रदायम् ॥ १ ॥

प्रागुक्तमेतद्गहनं मुनीन्द्रैर्मुह्यन्ति मुग्धाः किल तत्र तेषाम् ।
सद्बोधसिद्ध्यै क्रियतेऽर्थसारः श्रीरामचन्द्रात्मजशंकरेण ॥ २ ॥

धाता कृतादौ सच्छास्त्रं त्रेतायां बादरायणः ।
द्वापरे चाकरोद्गर्गो यवनस्ताजिकं कलौ ॥ ३ ॥

तस्मात्सम्यगिदं ज्ञेयं ताजिकं सत्यमेव तत् ।
विबुधैस्तु चमत्कारिफलबोधप्रकाशतः ॥ ४ ॥

अथ वर्षप्रवेशानयनम् ।

गताब्दसंघं गुणयेच्चतुस्थमेकेन घस्रैर्युगणैः कुरामैः १।१५।३१।३१।
वारादिकं स्यात्प्रथमोऽद्विशेषो जन्मादिनाडीसहितो ध्रुवः स्यात् ॥ ५ ॥

उत्पत्तितो यातसमाब्धिघाम्नाः शरैः करैः षड्भि ५।२।६।२। रथाब्धिभक्तया ।
जन्मादिनाडीसहितं फलं स्याद्वर्षप्रवेशो दिननाडिकाद्यम् ॥ ६ ॥

अथ तिथ्याद्यानयनम् ।

याताब्दाः शंकरै (११) र्निघ्नाः स्वाभ्रात्यष्ठयंशसंयुताः ।
जन्मतिथ्या युतास्त्रिंशद्भक्ताः शेषं तिथिर्भवेत् ॥ ७ ॥

अथ नक्षत्रयोगानयनम् ।

याताब्दाग्गुणयेद्दिग्भिरेकहीनान्भभाजितान् ।
जन्मर्क्षयोगसहितान्भयोगौ भवतः क्रमात् ॥ ८ ॥

अथ प्रसङ्गाद्ग्रहानयनम् ।

सिद्धान्तोक्तेन विधिना कार्याः स्पष्टतराः खगाः ।
सलग्नाश्चाथ पञ्चाङ्गाद्ग्रहानयनमुच्यते ॥ ९ ॥
यातैष्यावधिजार्कजन्मसमयोस्थार्कान्तरेणाहता
भुक्तिः स्पष्टतरा ग्रहस्य खरसैर्भक्ता लवाद्यं फलम् ।
यातैष्यावधिजे ग्रहे धनमृणं कार्यं तु तद्वक्रगे
व्यत्यासात्खचरा बुधैर्विधिवशात्साध्याश्च तात्कालिकाः ॥ १० ॥
स्थाप्यास्तन्वादिभावेषु सूर्याद्याः खचराः स्फुटाः ।
तेषां बलवशात्सर्वं ज्ञेयं भावादिकं फलम् ॥ ११ ॥

अथ वर्षेश्वरानयनम् ।

जन्मलग्नपतिर्वर्षलग्नेशो मुथहापतिः ।
अह्नि सूर्यः शशी रात्रौ लग्नत्रैराशिपः क्रमात् ॥ १२ ॥
तेषां तु बलवान्सम्यग्लग्नमालोकयेद्ग्रहः ।
अधिकाराधिको यश्च पञ्चवर्ग्यां समेश्वरः ॥ १३ ॥
अथवा लग्ननाथेन मुथशीली भवेद्ग्रहः ।
स वर्षेशो मुथहा हद्भागप...... ॥ १४ ॥
समाफलाभिधे ग्रन्थे शंकरेणोदिते स्फुटे ।
ताजिकोद्धृतसारेऽस्मिन्नध्यायः प्रथमस्त्वयम् ॥ १५ ॥

इति श्रीमद्वज्जजनानन्दकरश्रीरामचन्द्रात्मजविरचिते ताजिकोद्धृतसारे समाफले पूर्वपीठिकाध्यायः प्रथमः ।

The Adhyāya on Daśākrama is bound to be of interest to students of astrology.

दशाज्ञानं विना नैव फलज्ञानं प्रजायते ।
तस्मादहं प्रवक्ष्यामि दशासाधनमुत्तमम् ॥ १ ॥

आदावल्पलवस्तस्मादधिकस्तु ततोऽधिकः
एवं लवैर्ग्रहाः स्थाप्याः सलग्नाश्चैव वृद्धितः ॥ २ ॥
अन्त्यादुपान्तिमं शोध्यं यावदल्पलवः खगः ।
पात्यंशा (?)स्ते तदैक्येन विभजेच्च दिनादिकम् ॥ ३ ॥
सौराब्दस्याथ लब्धेन गुण्याः पात्र्यंशकाः (?) क्रमात् ।
दशादिनानि तानि स्युः स्फुटानि फलसिद्धये ॥ ४ ॥

अथान्तर्दशानयनम् ।

दशा दशाहता कार्या सौराब्ददिवसोद्धृता ।
लब्धमन्तर्दशा स्पष्टा विदशा स्यात्तथैव च ॥ ५ ॥
खेटः पूर्णबलश्चाथ मध्यवीर्यस्तु निर्बलः ।
तद्वत्तस्य फलं वाच्यं दशाप्रस्फुटजं बुधैः ॥ ६ ॥
अथ मासेऽपि कर्तव्या मासध्रुववशाद्दशा ।
दिनेऽपि तत्र सदसत्फलं वाच्यं मनीषिभिः ॥ ७ ॥

अथ मासध्रुवः ।

यावद्भिर्दिवसैः स्पष्टगत्या संजायते रवेः ।
राशिभोगः समासस्य ध्रुवकः प्रस्फुटो भवेत् ॥ ८ ॥

अथ दिनध्रुवः ।

स्पष्टगत्या भवेदेकभागभोगः स्फुटो रवेः ।
यावत्कालेन तन्मानं दिवसस्य ध्रुवो भवेत् ॥ ९ ॥

अथ दशाक्रमः ।

यथाक्रमेण संसिद्धिस्तद्वदेव दशाक्रमः ।
लिखेन्निःसंशयः प्राज्ञो बहुभिः स्मृतं बुधैः ॥ १० ॥
अथ वीर्यवशादेव लिख्यते यो दशाक्रमः ।
कैश्चिदाधुनिकैः प्रोक्तः संमतिर्न भवेद्धि सा ॥ ११ ॥
यां यामवस्थां प्राप्नोति वर्षे मासे दिने ग्रहः ।
तद्वत्फलं विजानीयाद्दशैवं चैव तस्य च ॥ १२ ॥

अथावस्थानयनम् ।

ग्रहावस्था भवेद्राशेर्द्वादशांशकसंख्यया ।
प्रवसाख्या तथा नष्टा मृता चैव जयाभिधा ॥ १३ ॥
हास्या रतिस्तथा क्रीडा सुप्ता गुप्ता ज्वराह्वया ।
कम्पिता सुस्थिता चैव केषाञ्चिन्मतमेव तत् ॥ १४ ॥
समाफलाभिधे ग्रन्थे शंकरेणोदिते स्फुटे ।
ताजिकोद्धृतसारेऽस्मिन्दशाध्यायोऽस्ति सप्तमः ॥ १५ ॥

Ends :

एषां जन्मफलं नास्ति तेषां वर्षफलं मया ।
प्रोच्यते फलसंसिद्ध्यै प्रश्नकालात्पुरोक्तवत् ॥ १ ॥
प्रश्नलग्नपतिर्यः स वर्षलग्नपतिः स्मृतः ।
तथा जन्मविलग्नेशाः सुखभाधिपतिर्बुधैः ॥ २ ॥
यातांशार्कपतिर्मेषान्मुथहापतिर्भवेत् ।
तथा द्युनिशमर्केन्दू शेषः प्राग्वद्विधिः स्मृतः ॥ ३ ॥
लग्नकार्यवती मित्रे मूथशीले यदा तदा ।
भवेत्कार्यस्य संसिद्धिश्चिन्तितस्य न संशयः ॥ ४ ॥
नक्ते च यमयाख्येन कच्छूले कुच्छसंज्ञके ।
उत्फालिकुच्छे तर्च्छारे दुत्थ उत्थ दुत्थकरे (?) ॥ ५ ॥
इह्युवारे (?) चेन्दुवारे कार्यसिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ।
शेषैर्योगैर्न सिद्धिः स्यादेवं प्रश्नविदो विदुः ॥ ६ ॥
योगः शुभो लग्नकार्यपत्योः शुभेक्षिते स्याद्बलवांस्तयोर्यः ।
शोध्यः पराच्छेपलवा दिनानि कार्यं तदन्ते किल सिद्धिमेति ॥ ७ ॥
गौतम्युत्तरतीरे श्रीमध्यमेश्वरसंनिधौ ।
कद्रूसुपर्णयोः संगयुक्तं पत्नादुराभिधम् ॥ ८ ॥
नगरं चैव तत्रासीन्मुद्गलान्वयसंभवः ।
हरिभट्टेति विख्यातो वेदशास्त्रविशारदः ॥ ९ ॥

इति श्रीरामचन्द्रात्मजश्रीमद्दैवज्ञजनानन्दकरश्रीमद्रामचन्द्रात्मजविरचिते समाफले वर्षफलसिद्धिः संपूर्णा ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीनृपशालिवाहनशके १५२९ प्लवङ्गाब्दे नभसि नवम्यां भृगौ आर्द्रादिवसनक्षत्रे मिथुनस्थे चन्द्रे कन्यास्थिते सूर्ये मीनस्थिते देवगुरौ एवं शुभे दिने समाफलाख्यग्रन्थो विद्याधरभट्टस्यात्मजेन दामोदरभट्टेन समाप्तिमानीतः ॥

॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

GODĀVARAMIŚRA, THE RĀJAGURU AND MANTRI OF GAJAPATI PRATĀPARUDRADEVA OF ORISSA, AND HIS WORKS—BETWEEN A. D. 1497-1539

By P. K. Gode, M. A.

Aufrecht[1] records two MSS of the work *Yogacintāmaṇi*[2] a work on yoga viz. (1) " Kaçin. 30 " and (2) "Bhr. 220". The first of these MSS is not available for examination, being in private possession as far back as 1880 when the list indicated by the entry " Kaçin " was made. The second MS of Aufrecht's entries viz. " Bhr. 220 " is the same as No. 220 of 1882-83 of the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It is fragmentary, many of the folios in the body of the manuscript having been lost previous to its acquisition from Gujarat by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. The beginning and end of the MS has, however, been preserved intact and affords useful historical data about the author and his date.

Aufrecht wrongly ascribes this work to Gorakṣanātha. The colophon of the 4th Pariccheda on folio 131 reads—" श्री गोदार-मिश्र(विरचिते योगचिंतामणौ) ". The letter व appears to have been dropped from the name " गोदारमिश्र " recorded in this colophon. A verse at the end of the MS gives the correct name of the author viz. " गोदावर " and not " गोदार ". This verse reads :—

" पातंजलश्रुतिगतं स्मृतिवाक्यजातं
यस्मान्निरीप(क्ष्य ?) बहुशः पुराणवृंदं ।
गोदावरेण परमा...रेण योग-
चिंतामणिर्विरचितो बलभद्रजेन "

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1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 165 a.

2. This *Yogacintāmaṇi* is a work on Yoga and should be distinguished from another work of the same name on *Materia medica* composed by the Jain writer Harṣakīrtisūri, pupil of Candrakīrti. Harṣakīrti belonged to the Nāgapur Tapāgaccha. Candrakīrti was honoured by Salem Shah who was emperor of Delhi between 1545 and 1553 A. D. (vide *R. G. B. Report* 1882-83, p. 43—Extract on p. 227). Candrakīrti commented on the *Sārasvataprakriyā* of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya. Another writer who belonged to this Nāgapurīya Tapogaṇa is Amarakīrti who composed a commentary on the Ṛtusaṁhāra (No. 372 of 1887-91). An edition of Harṣakīrti's Yogacintāmaṇi was published in 1912 with a Gujarati commentary by Pūraṇacandra Sarma of Ahmedabad.

This name "गोदावर" is also supported by the colophon of the 1st Pariccheda on folio 22 and it reads—"गोदावरमिश्र-(विरचिते योगचिंतामणौ)". This MS begins—

"श्रीगणेशाय नमः । चक्रायुधं सिद्धमुनींद्रवंद्यं ।
नीलाद्रिनाथं करुणासमुद्रं ॥
पीतांबरं पद्मविशालनेत्रं ।
श्रीशारदानाथमहं नमामि ॥ १ ॥
अनादिसंसारदवानलोपि ।
यस्योपदेशो......मिरेति शांति ॥
शेषावतारं बलभद्रसंज्ञं ।
विद्यागुरुं तं जनकं नमामि ॥ २ ॥
याद्व्यास वाचस्पतिभोजदेवैः ।
पातंजलीयं निरणायि तत्वं ॥
अन्यत्रसिद्धं यदुपेक्षितं च ।
तदत्र संक्षिप्य निरूपयामि ॥ ३ ॥

The father of गोदावर was बलभद्र (verse 2) to whom he bows at the commencement of the work. The colophon of *1st Pariccheda* reads as follows on folio 12 :—

"श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजगजपतिप्रतापरुद्रसहस्रधारितकनककेशरिचतुष्टया-वेष्टितशातकुंभमयकुंभसंभृतमेघाडंबराभिधानमितातपत्रशोभमानकविपुंगवपंडितराज राजगुरुवाजपेयगोदावरमिश्रविरचिते योगचिंतामणौ प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ॥"

The MS is dated Saṁvat 1772 (A. D. **1715**) as will be seen from the following colophon :—

"इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजगजपतिप्रतापरुद्रदेवस्वहस्तधारितकनककेशरि-वेष्टयावेष्टितशातकुंभमयकुंभसंभृतमेघाडंबराभिधासितातपत्रशोभमानकविपुंगवपंडि-तराजराजगुरुवाजपेययाजिश्रीगोदा(व)रमिश्रविरचिते । योगचिंतामणौ चतुर्थः कैवल्यपरिच्छेदः ॥ = ॥ संवत् १७७२ वर्षे कार्त्तिक वदि मावास्या बुधवासरे ॥ लिषतं वैकुंटाश्रम महादेवा......स्य शिष्यः स्वपठनार्थं ॥ वाराणसीमध्ये हनुमान् समीपे पूर्वाश्रम गोड ब्राह्मण ॥ = ॥"

The above extract gives us the following information about the work and its author :—

(1) गोदावरमिश्र, the author of the योगचिंतामणि was the राजगुरु or royal preceptor of गजपति प्रतापरुद्रदेव. He was called कविपुंगव, पंडितराज on account of his great learning and वाजपेययाजि perhaps on account of his having performed a वाजपेय Sacrifice.

(2) The MS was copied at Benares in *Saṁvat 1772* in the month of *Kārttika*, dark fortnight (*Vadi*) on ***Budhavāsara*** which was an *amāvāsyā* day.[1]

Godāvaramiśra refers to the following works and authors in the MS of his *Yogacintāmaṇi* before us :—

1. भगवान् पतंजलिः (योगशास्त्रं प्रणिनाय) folio 1, 23, 67, etc.
2. योगियाज्ञवल्क्यश्रुते: fol. 2, 71.
3. याज्ञवल्क्य fol. 3, 11, 13, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 42, 46, 50, 55, 70, 82, 86.
4. ब्रह्मांडपुराण fol. 3.
5. गारुडपुराण fol. 3, 15, 31, 33.
6. भगवद्गीता fol. 3, 57, 96.
7. (महर्षिः) मतंगः fol. 3, 36, 38.
8. कूर्मपुराण fol. 3, 10, 12, 13, 39, 49.
9. विष्णुपुराण fol. 10, 18, 104.
10. पुष्करपुराण fol. 11, 74.
11. वायुसंहिता fol. 12, 69, 85.
12. यतिधर्मप्रकरणे मनुः fol. 12.
13. देवीपुराण fol. 12.
14. विष्णुधर्मे fol. 13.
15. वाचस्पतिव्याख्या fol. 26, वाचस्पतिमिश्राः (35).
16. भोजदेवव्याख्या fol. 26.
17. अग्निपुराण fol. 31, आग्नेयपुराण fol. 38, 39.
18. लिंगपुराण fol. 31, 33, 42, 43, 69.
19. श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणादिप्रसिद्धा धर्माः fol. 34.
20. इति भोजदेवः (in the margin) fol. 35.
21. इति भाष्यसंप्रदायः fol. 35.
22. दत्तात्रेयः fol. 36, 45, 80, 85.
23. पवनयोगसंग्रहः—fol. 37.
24. वसिष्ठः fol. 38, वासिष्ठे fol. 46, वसिष्ठवाक्य fol. 60.
25. धर्मप्रतिका fol. 39, Aufrecht (III, 58 b) records the title of a work called धर्मपुत्रिका Rep. p. 6 on *Yoga*.
26. हठयोग—fol. 39, 41, 46.
27. योगसंग्रह fol. 46.
28. काशीमीमांसायां पितामहचरणाः fol. 49.
29. स्कंदपुराण fol. 49, 69, 74, 87.

1. This date corresponds to *Wednesday, 16th November 1715* (Vide p. 233 of *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI, 1922).

30. शारीरकसारपुरुषोत्तमस्तुतौ पितृचरणैः fol. 50.

31. योगसार fol. 57, 60.

32. नारदीय fol. 57, नारदीयपुराण, 67, 74.

33. कालिकापुराण fol. 60, 67.

34. नकुलीशयोगप(पा ?)रायण (fol. 67) Aufrecht I, 273 b — नकुलीशयोगपारायण quoted by Sundaradeva, Hall, p. 18.

35. मार्कंडेयपुराण—fol. 67, 74.

36. नंदिपुराण—fol. 69.

37. व्यास: fol. 71, 85.

38. तंत्रचिंतामणि (of the author himself—" अन्यत्सर्वं तंत्रचिंतामणौ प्रपंचितं अस्माभिः ")—*Bikaner Cata*. p. 616 records an anonymous तन्त्रचिन्तामणि.

39. जैगीषव्य योगशास्त्र—fol. 74, (Auf. I, 208—जैगीषव्य योगशास्त्र quoted by Sundaradeva, Hall. p. 18).

40. ईश्वरप्रोक्ते fol. 80.

41. शिवयोग fol. 81.

42. पवनयोगसंग्रह fol. 83 (Auf. I, 331—पवनयोगसंग्रह i. e. प्राणायामयोग quoted by Sundaradeva, Hall, page 17).

43. योगविद: fol. 85.

44. छांदोग्यश्रुतौ fol. 96.

45. पितामहचरणैः संक्षेपशारीरकवार्त्तिके fol. 131.

46. पितृचरणैः अद्वैतचिंतामणौ fol. 131.

47. अस्माभिः (अ)द्वैतदर्पणे fol. 131.

In the above list our author refers to his own works, those of his father बलभद्र as also those of his grand-father, whose name has not been disclosed to us. We may now tabulate these works as follows :—

(1)	Grand father referred to as पितामहचरणैः and पितामहचरणाः	—	(1) काशीमीमांसा (2) संक्षेपशारीरकवार्त्तिक
(2)	बलभद्र referred to as पितृचरणैः	—	(1) शारीरकसारपुरुषोत्तमस्तुति (2) अद्वैतचिन्तामणि
(3)	गोदावरमिश्र referred to as अस्माभिः	—	(1) योगचिन्तामणि (2) तन्त्रचिन्तामणि (3) (अ)द्वैतदर्पण

As the MS analysed by me is fragmentary we cannot say if Godāvaramiśra has recorded any other works in the *Yoga-cintāmaṇi* (in addition to those recorded in the above list) composed by the members of his family. Judging, however, by the names of the above works we are justified in supposing that the family of this royal preceptor or राजगुरु of गजपति प्रतापरुद्रदेव was a very learned one and hence must have been respected and honoured at the court of Pratāparudradeva some generations earlier than our author, who was himself a highly honoured राजगुरु as his titles कविपुंगव, पंडितराज, and वाजपेययाजि amply indicate in the colophons before us. In verse 2 at the commencement of the work the author states that his father बलभद्र was his विद्यागुरु (बलभद्रसंज्ञं विद्यागुरुं...नमामि). The avowed purpose of writing the present work on Yoga is indicated by the author in verse 3 as follows :—

" यद्व्यासवाचस्पतिभोजदेवैः
पातंजलीयं निरणायि तत्त्वं ।
अन्यत्र सिद्धं यदपेक्षितं च
तदत्र संक्षिप्य निरूपयामि ॥ ३ ॥ "

The work is, therefore, a compendium or a manual based on the principles and practice of Yoga as enjoined by the *Yogasūtra* ascribed to Patañjali and elucidated by Vyāsa, Vācaspati, and Bhojadeva whose commentaries on the *Yoga-sūtras* are available to us now as they were available to Godāvaramiśra. The present work is also supplemented by material from other sources not incorporated by the above commentators in their commentaries. The object of Yoga theory and practice being *Mokṣa* or final emancipation, the author has briefly stated, in his work for the benefit of the *mumukṣu* or seeker after emancipation, such Yogic practices as are conducive to such emancipation. Other theoretic and psychic aspects of the Yoga have not been dealt with in this work for fear of increasing the bulk of the manual. They have been discussed at length, as the author tells us, by his respected grandfather (पितामहचरणैः) in his संक्षेपशारीरकवार्त्तिक and by his father (पितृचरणैः) Balabhadra in his अद्वैतचिन्तामणि as also by our author himself in his (अ)द्वैतदर्पण "...अस्माभिरथद्वैतदर्पणयुगपदनुवर्णिताः". The author

further informs us that he has deliberately excluded from the present treatise those details of Yogic theory and practice which are enjoined as essential in Tantric manuals ("भूतकापालिकग्रंथोक्ता: विशेषा:") because they are opposed to the teaching of the श्रुति and स्मृति.

According to the colophons quoted above Godāvaramiśra was the *rājaguru* or royal preceptor of Gajapati Pratāparudradeva. I am inclined to identify this king with Gajapati Pratāparudradeva[1] of Orissa who ruled *between* A. D. *1497 and 1539*. If this identification is accepted, the date of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* can be safely assigned to the *first quarter of the 16th century*. This conclusion is in consonance with the reference to Bhojadeva (C. A. D. *1050*) made by our author and the date of the MS before us *viz.* A. D. *1716*. Unfortunately the list of authorities cited by Godāvaramiśra furnishes no other clue to the earlier limit for the date of the present work than Bhojadeva (C. A. D. 1050). Gajapati Pratāparudradeva belonged to the Solar Dynasty of Orissa that ruled between A. D. 1435 and 1540, a period during which Orissa attained its highest glory in all directions.[2] It is possible to suppose that the family of Godāvaramiśra must have been patronized by the predecessors of Pratāparudradeva *viz.* पुरुषोत्तमदेव and कपिलेन्द्रदेव. Pratāparudradeva was the father-in-law[3] of Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar. The dharmaśāstra work *Sarasvatīvilāsa* though attributed to Pratāparudra was composed by Lolla Lakṣmīdhara,[4] who spent

1. Vide p. 413 of P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. I (1930).

2. Vide p. 213 of *Orissa in the Making* by B. C. Mazumdar, Calcutta University, 1925. The Solar dynasty was a shortlived one as it lasted for three generations represented by कपिलेन्द्रदेव, his son पुरुषोत्तमदेव and his grandson प्रतापरुद्रदेव. Govind Vidyādhara a minister of Prātaprudradeva, assassinated the sons of his master and usurped his throne in A. D. 1541. He was a Bhoi by caste. His two successors were also Bhois. They were succeeded by Telengā Mukunda Deva who died in A. D. 1568. After his death Orissa came under the rule of Mahomedans.

3. Vide *Sources of Vijayanagar History* by S. K. Aiyangar Madras, 1919. Tukkā, the daughter of Pratāparudra was married to Kṛṣṇadevarāya. Five Sanskrit verses are by tradition ascribed to Tukkā and in them she bemoans her husband's neglect of her (p. 143).

4. Ibid, p. 151.

his early days in the court of the Gajapati at Cuttack and then migrated to Kṛṣṇadevarāya's court.[1] It is thus clear that Godāvaramiśra, the *rājaguru* of Gajapati Pratāparudra was a contemporary of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara, the real author of the *Sarasvatīvilāsa*. It is also clear that Pratāparudra was a great patron of letters.[2] He should not be confounded with Pratāparudra of the Kākaṭīya dynasty (Warrangal), the patron of Vidyānātha, the author of the *Pratāparudra-yaśobhūṣaṇa*. This king ruled between A. D. 1268 and (1319 ?) 1328 A. D.[3]

It appears that our Godāvaramiśra composed a work called हरिहरचतुरङ्गम् which is represented by a MS. in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. My friend Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar recently sent me a copy of his erudite volume on *War in Ancient India*[4] wherein he records a summary of the contents of the work as follows :—

" *Harihara-Caturangam* (Oriental MSS. Library Madras).[5]

It is the work of Kuruvājapeyayāji[6] Godāvaramiśra, the minister of Mahārājādhirāja Gajapati Pratāparudradeva. Thus the work belongs to the 15th century A. D. (or the early 16th). Its study is valuable in that it indicates the continuity of traditional methods and prescriptions, and in this connection furnishes additional information from sources known to the author at the time of composition. This manuscript of the

1. Vide p. 422 of *Vijayanagar* (*third dynasty*) by N. V. Ramanayya, Madras, 1935.

2. Vide Aufrecht's *Cata. Catalo.* I. 349 — प्रतापरुद्र was a patron of विश्वनाथसेन (पथ्यापथ्यविनिश्चय). Works attributed to Pratāparudra are :— (1) कौन्तुकचिन्तामणि, (2) निर्णयसंग्रह, (3) प्रतापमार्तण्ड, (4) सरस्वतीविलास.

3. Vide p. 794 of *Classical Sans. Literature*, Krishnamachariar, 1937.

4. Published by Macmillan and Co. 1944, pp. 363–364.

5. Vide pp. 5698–99 of *Triennial Catalogue* (1919–20 to 1921–23) Vol. IV—Part 1. Sanskrit C.—MS *R. No. 3848* Folios 158 (Grantha Characters) Transcribed from a MS of Hariharārājaguru, Chochinajagannathapuram, Kudala Post, Ganjam district. Deals with (1) गजलक्षण, (2) रथलक्षण, (3) अश्वलक्षण, (4) पत्तिलक्षण, (5) धनुर्विद्या, (6) नीति, (7) युद्ध and (8) क्रीडा.

6. " कुरु वाजपययोजि " is a misreading for " (राज) गुरु वाजपेययाजि " mentioned in the Colophon.

Harihara Caturanga is divided into 8 books. The first four deal with the fourfold force in the order of *elephants*, *chariots*, *horses* and *infantry*. While those sections on elephants and horses occupy nearly 90 pages respectively, the information under the headings of chariots and infantry is meagre and occupies about four pages in the manuscript. The last four books deal respectively with Dhanurveda, Rājanīti, Dhanurvidyā and Krīḍāyuddha. (This last is a period of training or apprenticeship after the period of study is over). In the opening lines of book v the author expresses his indebtedness to previous works on the Dhanurveda and in this connection mentions four works—the *Auśanasasaṁhitā*, *Vīracintāmaṇi*, *Kodaṇḍa Caturbhujam* and *Sārasangraham*, all of which are probably lost today. Towards the end of the sixth book, another work, called *Jayacintāmaṇi* is referred to. It is said to be a work bearing on astronomy and astrology and the king is advised therein to set out on an expedition at an auspicious time."

The name of the author is recorded in the following lines at the commencement of the work :—

" श्रीदुर्गाचरणाम्भोज द्वन्द्व चन्दन बिन्दुना ।
कृतिर्गोदावरेणेयं तत्प्रसादाद्विरिच्यते ॥
श्रीरगोदावरस्येदं (यं) कृतिरास्तां मुदे सताम् । "

At the end also similar lines are recorded as follows :—

" यत्प्रसादादिमां चक्रे श्रीरगोदावरः कृतिम् ।
श्री दुर्गाचरणाम्भोजे तस्मिन्नेतां समर्पये ॥ "

The following colophon is identical with that in the *Yoga-cintāmaṇi* :—

" इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज गजपतिप्रतापरुद्रदेव—स्वहस्तधारित-कनककेसरीचतुष्टयावेष्टितशातकुम्भ—(मयकुम्भ) सम्भृत मेघाडम्बराभिधान-सितातपत्रशोभमान कविपुङ्गव पण्डितराज गुरु[1] वाजपेययाजि मन्त्रिवर[2] गोदावरमिश्रविरचिते हरिहरचतुरङ्गे अष्टमः क्रीडापरिच्छेदः ॥ "

1. In the Yogacintāmaṇi we have " पण्डितराज राजगुरु ".

2. This epithet मन्त्रिवर is not recorded in the colophon of the योगचिन्तामणि. In the colophon of the *1st Paricceda* of the हरिहरचतुरङ्ग the epithet मन्त्रिवर is also recorded.

It is clear from the above extracts that Godāvaramiśra, the author of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* and his name-sake the author of the *Harihara-Caturaṅga* are identical.

Prof. Dikshitar states that the *Harihara Caturaṅga* mentions four earlier works :—

(1) औशानससंहिता (2) वीरचिन्तामणि
(3) कोदण्डचतुर्भुजम् (4) सारसंग्रह

and that all of these are probably lost today. Perhaps it may be possible to trace some of these works or their MSS. Aufrecht makes the following entry regarding the वीरचिन्तामणि :—
C. C. I., 594—" वीरचिन्तामणि by Śārṅgadhara.

> [360, 3084. Bik 708. Peter 2·188 (वीरचूडामणि) This is merely an extract from the शार्ङ्गधरपद्धति (ch. 80 धनुर्वेद) "

The *Śārṅgadharapaddhati was composed in* A. D. 1363 by शार्ङ्गधर and if the वीरचिन्तामणि mentioned by गोदावरमिश्र is identical with ch. 80 (on Dhanurveda) of the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* we can easily fix A. D. 1400 as the earlier terminus for the date of Godāvaramiśra. This terminus harmonises with the date of this author—minister of Gajapati Pratāparudradeva[1] fixed by me already in this paper.

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1. Vide pp. 410–414 of P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. I (1930) where Kane gives detailed information about the *dharmaśāstra* works ascribed to Gajapati Pratāparudra—for information about the empire of Orissa and its emperors see JBORS, V, pp. 147–148 and *Ind. Anti.* 1929, pp. 28–33.

THE NEW COMMENTARY ON VĀLAKHILYA HYMNS*

By C. G. Kashikar, Poona

There is no commentary of Sāyaṇa on the eleven Vālakhilya hymns (VIII. 49–59) in the Ṛgveda. It is not found in any MSS. of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Ṛgveda. A commentary on the Vālakhilya hymns is published as footnotes to the pages containing the Vālakhilya hymns in the recently published third volume of the edition of the Ṛgveda with Sāyaṇa's commentary, which is being published by the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala of Poona. It is found in a MS. (ञ) of the Government Sanskrit College, Benares. The MS. is not an old one, being written in Saṁvat 1903. It is stated in the introductory remarks at the beginning of the Vālakhilya hymns (p. 779) that the commentary is not of Sāyaṇa himself, because (1) it is not found in all other MSS. of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Ṛgveda, and (2) its method of interpretation is different from that of Sāyaṇa (इतरेषु सर्वेष्वपि पुस्तकेष्वनुपलम्भात् व्याख्याशैल्या विभिन्नत्वाच्च नैतत्सायणाचार्यकृतमिति व्यक्तं प्रतीयते).

The first reason requires no further elucidation. I propose in this paper to expound the second reason by subjecting the commentary on Vālakhilya hymns to critical examination.

The survey of the commentary is divided under six different heads : (1) Words or phrases which Sāyaṇa would have explained otherwise, (2) Words or explanations not usually met in Sāyaṇa, (3) Metaphysical explanations not found in Sāyaṇa, (4) Purāṇic ideas not found in Sāyaṇa, (5) Vibhakti— and Vacanavyatyayas, (6) Incorrect readings, renderings etc. The words and passages of the commentary quoted under these heads collectively go to prove that it is not the work of Sāyaṇa.

The quotations under the first caption are those which do not seem as Sāyaṇa's work and in place of which Sāyaṇa would have used different wording. Attempt has been made to suggest

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what Sāyaṇa would have probably written. Thus Sāyaṇa would say अयुजो बृहत्य: युजः सतोबृहत्यः instead of अयुजां बृहती छन्दः युजां सतोबृहती छन्दः, a construction which is met with in this commentary in the introduction to six out of the eleven hymns. Sāyaṇa has a definite style of interpretation. He usually interprets a particular word in one and the same way. The conjectures about Sāyaṇa's interpretation are, therefore, made on general observations and it is hoped that this will suffice for the purpose.

The second category is nearly of the same nature as that of the first. Words or explanations which do not usually occur in Sāyaṇa are collected under this category. Like the first division, here also it cannot be said for certain that such and such a word or explanation cannot be found in Sāyaṇa. One has to make a thorough search of the whole commentary for this, which is not called for. Any student of Sāyaṇa would at once feel the different character of these explanations. For example, the Śloka at the beginning of the commentary (श्रुतिकञ्जार्थलक्ष्मीं यो विकासयति हृद्गताम् । स पायात्सच्चिदानन्दः सूर्यमण्डलगो हरिः ॥) is one which never occurs in Sāyaṇa. So also the rendering of इव by एव, the accounting of several words such as इव, उत, न, इत्, एव as Anarthakā Nipātas, the explanation of हिरण्यवत्, प्रियं, मादयसे, शिक्षो as कांचनोपेतं, वल्लभं, आनंदयासि, शिक्षक respectively, the appearance of words like त्रिलोकी, दीनदयालु clearly show that this is not the work of Sāyaṇa. The word शिक्षा is twice taken to mean "punishment", a meaning quite foreign to Sanskrit literature in general and to Sāyaṇa in particular. The disposing off of words like इव, उत्, इत् etc. as Anarthaka Nipātas shows that the commentator has not been able to render properly the meaning of the verse concerned. It is true, Sāyaṇa also is sometimes compelled to follow this course. But it is only when he cannot account for them in a better way, which is not the case with the present commentator.

The third and important group consists of metaphysical explanations which are not found in Sāyaṇa. First of all, the commentator renders *Indra* by *Parameśvara* in not less than eleven Mantras, which Sāyaṇa never does. Sāyaṇa fully realises the variety of Vedic Gods. He does not see Theism in Vedic

pantheon. The present commentator tries to explain away the Vedic mythology by means of Advaita philosophy. Then there are several metaphysical ideas in this commentary which occur in Sāyaṇa only while dealing with the later Vedic portion of Upaniṣadic character. The present commentator, on the other hand, is bent upon giving a metaphysical explanation when there is no occasion for it. Thus he says :—अर्यें जगत्स्वामिनि इन्द्रे परमेश्वरे (6. 7),[1] विविचिं पुण्यापुण्ययोर्विवेक्तारं (2. 6), तुरीय प्रत्यगात्मरूपेण अवस्थात्रयातीत (4. 7), पथः धर्ममार्गात् (7. 5) etc. The fact that the commentator quotes nine Upaniṣadic references in the commentary on three mantras (3. 4; 10. 2, 3) also points to the same conclusion.

Purāṇic ideas found here and there in this commentary form the fourth group of passages which speaks against Sāyaṇa's authorship of this commentary. The commentator refers to Lakṣmī, Meruparvata and the Purāṇic Asuras. Sāyaṇa in his commentary sometimes refers to Purāṇic legends.[2] Thus he refers to Viṣṇu's three strides which really have their origin in the Ṛgveda. But the difference between Sāyaṇa and the present commentator is that Sāyaṇa merely mentions the legends in course of his explanation, while this commentator makes use of Purāṇic ideas in explaining the verses.

There are many cases of Vibhakti-and Vacanavyatyaya. I have been able to count thirteen such cases. In many of them more than one word are involved. Among these, there is one case of Vacanavyatyaya, one of both Vibhakti-and Vacanavyatyaya and the rest are Vibhaktivyatyaya. The cases involved are objective, dative and possessive. Sāyaṇa, too, has the occasion of taking to this course, but in rare cases.

The last group is of miscellaneous character. There are certain incorrectnesses in this commentary which it would probably be difficult to find in Sāyaṇa. Thus in the introduction to the second hymn the commentator says काण्वस्य पुष्टिगोरार्षं and immediately afterwards he repeats कण्वस्य पुत्रः पुष्टिगुर्ऋषिः. Another instance of similar nature is found in the introduction to the eighth hymn. The commentator first says that the hymn

1. The figures denote the number of hymn (Vālakhilya) and verse.
2. Ṛv. I. 22.7; 114.6; X. 99. 6; 125.6.

is in Gāyatrī metre, and immediately afterwards states the fact that the last verse of the hymn is in Paṅkti metre and the rest are in Gāyatrī. Further, the word Indra (=Mighty) is taken as an adjective to the King Praskaṇva, so also the word Vṛka, which generally comes as an adjective of Indra in hymns to Indra, is used as an adjective of the same king (7.1). Sāyaṇa would not explain the verse in the manner in which the commentator has explained it.

The foregoing short survey illustrating the nature of the commentary is sufficient to prove that the work is not of Sāyaṇa. It is not my intention to see whether the method of interpretation followed by the commentator is right or wrong. My purpose has been only to show from internal evidence that the commentary is not of Sāyaṇa himself. The commentator no doubt tries to imitate the style of Sāyaṇa. Like Sāyaṇa he gives some grammatical explanations and quotes Paṇini and Nighaṇṭu. He also mentions the author, metre and deity of a hymn in its introduction and also quotes the Anukramaṇī. His method of interpretation, however, as shown above, exposes his separate individuality.

The following is a list of passages collected from the commentary and divided into six groups as shown above. It is perhaps possible to find out some more instances if a thorough search is made. It is, however, needless for the practical purpose, since it cannot alter the conclusion arrived at :—

(1) *Words which Sāyaṇa would have explained otherwise :—*

1. अयुजां बृहती छन्द: युजां सतोबृहती छन्द: (at the beginning of first six hymns). Sāyaṇa would say अयुजो बृहत्यः युजः सतोबृहत्य:
2. मदा: हर्षकरा: (1. 3). Sāy. —मदा मदकरा:
3. कमेनम् (1. 4). Sāy.—पुन: कीदृशम्
4. मंदसान: हवींषि संभजमान: (1. 4). Sāy.—मंदसान: मोदमान:
5. अधि अधिकं (1. 7). Sāy.—अधि उपरि
6. तं कम् (2. 1). Sāy.—पुन: कीदृशम्
7. मंहतिर्दानार्थ: दानकर्मसु तत्पाठात् (2. 1). Sāy.—मंहतिर्दानकर्मा
8. ईशानं सर्वविद्यानां नियन्तारम् (5. 1). Sāy.—ईशानं स्वामिनम्

9. अन्त्यातृतीययोरनुष्टुप् छन्दः अन्यासां गायत्री छन्दः (7. Ini.). Sāy.—तृतीयापञ्चम्यावनुष्टुभौ शिष्टा गायत्र्यः

10. महेमते पूजासक्तबुद्धे (1. 7 ; 2. 7). Sāyaṇa takes महे as the form of महत्, not of मह पूजायाम्. See Ṛv. VIII. 13. 11 ; 34. 7

11. विन्धते परिचरति । विधतिः परिचरणकर्मा (3. 3). Sāyaṇa turns विन्ध् into विन्द् (विद्लृ लाभे) Cf. Ṛv. 1. 7. 9 ; VIII. 9. 6.

12. पिन्विरे प्रीणयन्ति (1. 2). Sāyaṇa renders by पिवि सेचने (संतर्पणे), वर्धने.

2) *Words or explanations not usually met in Sāyaṇa :—*

1. श्रुतिकञ्जार्थ......मण्डलगो हरिः (Beginning verse)
2. शतानीकेव अपरिमितान्येव (1. 1)
3. सहस्रेणेव अपरिमितमेव (1. 1)
4. सहस्रेणेव असंख्यातमेव (2. 1)
5. इवशब्दोऽनर्थकः (1. 8)
6. इत् न इति निपातद्वयमनर्थकम् (8. 4)
7. उत इत्यनर्थकः (9. 3)
8. एवेत्यनर्थको निपातः (5. 8)
9. हिरण्यवत् कांचनोपेतं (1. 10)
10. प्रियं वल्लभं (2. 3)
11. अश्वशफप्रहारैस्तं चूर्णयन् विशब्दितं करोषीत्यर्थः (2. 8)
12. त्रिलोकीपोषकत्वम् (3. 4)
13. त्रिलोकीम् (4. 3)
14. बलं शिक्षालक्षणं......शिक्षामाविष्करोति (3. 4)
15. शिक्षसि आज्ञापयसि (3. 6)
16. शिक्षो शिक्षकेन्द्र (4. 8)
17. छन्दः वेदजातं (4. 1)
18. मादयसे आनन्दयसि (4. 1)
19. दीनदयालुः (4. 5)
20. विश्वचर्षणिम् । विश्वाः सर्वाश्चर्षणयो मनुष्या दासदासीलक्षणा यस्मिन् तं (भगम्) (5. 6)
21. घृतश्चुतं घृतस्राविणं गवादिगणं (6. 1)
22. घृतश्चुतः...आज्यस्राविण्यः (11. 4)
23. दीद्यग्नी । दीदिः अतिशयेन दीप्यमानः अग्निः जठरानलो ययोस्तादृशौ (अश्विनौ) (9. 2). See Sāy. on Ṛv. 1. 15. 11

(3) *Metaphysical explanations not found in Sāyaṇa :—*

1. इन्द्रं परमेश्वरं (3. 3)
2. इन्द्राय परमेश्वराय (3. 4)
3. इन्द्रं परमेश्वरं (3. 5)
4. देवस्य...परमेश्वरस्य (3. 7)
5. इन्द्र परमेश्वर (3. 7)
6. इन्द्र परमेश्वर (4. 1)
7. इन्द्रं परमेश्वरं (4. 6)
8. इन्द्राय परमेश्वराय (4. 9)
9. इन्द्रं परमेश्वरं (6. 2)
10. अर्ये जगत्स्वामिनि इन्द्रे परमेश्वरे (6. 7)
11. इन्द्रयोः परमेश्वरयोः(11. 5)
12. विविचिं पुण्यापुण्ययोर्विवेक्तारम् (2. 6)
13. द्वितीयं (जन्म) ब्रह्मविधातः जगदारम्भरूपेण (4. 7)
14. तुरीय प्रत्यगात्मरूपेण अवस्थात्रयातीत (4. 7)
15. ईश्वरेणाल्पमपि कृतं कर्म बहु भवत् प्रसिद्ध्यति (7. 1)
16. पथः धर्ममार्गात् (7. 5)
17. तं तच्छब्दवाच्यं परमात्मानम् (10. 3)
18. मनीषा अत्र चिज्जडविवेकवती बुद्धिः । वाचः उपनिषल्लक्षणा गिरः । मतिर्मननं तर्कसामर्थ्यम् । श्रुतं शास्त्रमीमांसालक्षणम् । (11. 6)

(4) *Puranic ideas not found in Sāyaṇa :—*

1. हरिश्रियं हरिः जगत्तापहर्त्री हरितवर्णा वा जललक्ष्मीर्यस्य तादृशं (2.10)
2. दीर्घनीथे दीर्घं स्वर्लोकपर्यन्तम् (2. 10)
3. असुरगणे गुप्तं चक्रदानं etc. (3. 9)
4. पर्वतासः पर्ववतां मेर्वादीनाम् (6. 4)
5. चित्रमघा...लक्ष्मीः (10. 3)

(5) *Change of case and number :—*

1. एतावतः इयदेव ... गोमतः गवाश्वाद्युपेतं सुम्नस्य सुखं (1. 9)
2. दाशुषे हविषां दातारम् (2. 6)
3. महः महत् राधसः राधो धनं (2. 6)
4. एतावतः एतावत्पराक्रमोपेतं ते त्वां नव्यसः स्तुत्यं (2. 9)
5. दस्यवे उपक्षपयितुः शत्रोः (3. 2)
6. गोः गामश्वस्य अश्वं (4. 5)
7. मध्वः मधुरं (5. 3)
8. वनस्पतिः वनानां पातारः (6. 4)
9. दस्यवे दस्युं (7. 1)
10. दस्यवे दस्यून् (8. 2)

11. चिकितुः चेतनावन्तं (8. 5)
12. उप यातं (9. 3 Padapāṭha — उप यात)
13. वां वः युष्माकं (10. 3)

(6) *Miscellaneous* :—

1. काण्वस्य पुष्टिगोरार्षं...कण्वस्य पुत्रः पुष्टिगु ऋषिः (2. ini.)
2. सूक्तं...गायत्रं...अन्त्या पंक्तिच्छन्दस्का शेषाः गायत्रीछन्दस्काः (8. ini.)
3. वयोवयः अतिशयेन पक्षिणः (7. 4)
4. युक्ताः अश्वाः (9. 1 Padapāṭha — युक्ता. युक्तौ अश्वौ would be the right rendering)
5. हे पीतक्रतः ... इन्द्र (8. 2)
6. पीतक्रतः इन्द्रः (8. 3)
7. पूतक्रतायै स्वमात्रे (अदित्यै) (8. 4)
8. हे अश्विनौ ... भवदनुग्रहेण युष्मत्पिता सूर्यः (9. 3)
9. The words इन्द्र and वृक taken as adjectives of the king प्रस्कण्व (7. 1)
10. स्वदावन् आस्वादनकुशलेन्द्र (2. 5). This word does not occur anywhere else in Ṛv. In view, however, of similar construction in 1. 5 (यं ते स्वधावन् स्वदयन्ति धेनवः), Sāyaṇa would probably have turned the word into स्वधावन् .
11. शीष्टेषु विशिष्टेषु (5. 4). This word too does not occur again in the Ṛv. It is doubtful whether Sāyaṇa would have rendered शीष्टेषु by विशिष्टेषु. See Grassmann : Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda.
12. मातरिश्वानस्यार्षमैन्द्रम् (6. ini.). The right reading, as suggested by the editors (p. 795), is मातरिश्वन आर्षमैन्द्रम् . The commentator seems to have read मातरिश्वानो as one word instead of मातरिश्वा नो (विश्व etc.) in the Anukramaṇī quotation.

MEDICAL LORE IN SANSKRIT DRAMAS

By Dr. D. V. S. Reddy, M.B.B.S.

Glimpses of Medicine in the age of Bhāsa

In the 13 plays, now identified as the works of the great Bhāsa and covering a wide range of stories and subjects, the graphic descriptions, the dramatic situations, the portrayal of various emotions and moods, the pictures of social and domestic life of the age, and many other passages, are as historically accurate as they are literally superb.

Allusions to Physicians

Bharata returning from his maternal Uncle's kingdom, asks the Charioteer about King Daśaratha "I heard the King was severely indisposed. Tell me what is my father's malady?" The Charioteer replies "Great mental torment" (Hṛdaya Paritāpa). The Prince asks "What do the Physicians say?" The Charioteer adds "The Physicians have not the skill to treat that malady." (Pr. 22).

Description of a Patient

Daśaratha, surprised and shocked by the sudden demand of Kaikeyi that Rāma's coronation must be stopped and that Rāma should be sent to the forest, falls into a swoon. Later, the king is described by the Chamberlain as having his heart burnt by the fire of sorrow and lying in the *Samudra-Gṛha* raving a great deal like one frenzied. The king had his body and mind greatly unhinged owing to sorrow. He went on falling down after rising again and again, repeatedly wailing in loud voice (Pr. 10–15).

To Sumanta, who returned from the forest, Daśaratha says "Communicate to me their messages with their names—the elixirs to my ears and medicine to my distressed heart." Then, as the minister begins to tell the names, Daśaratha suffered from mental aberration "Here, children, embrace me". Finally, he swoons. The minister gets anxious and sends information to other ministers that the king is in an irremediable condition. On recovery from this fit, the king tells Kausalyā "Touch me.

I do not see you with my eyes. My mind gone to Rāma does not return yet." Then he begins to say that he was seeing his ancesstors and talks to them. Again he goes into a swoon and dies (Pr. 18–19).

Ailments, Diseases and Remedies

Fainting or Swooning: Hearing the sad tale of his father's death, and brother's departure to forest, Bharata falls into a swoon. The Temple-keeper says "The Queens have come in time; for the touch of the hand of the mothers is the very handful of water to one in want of water." (Pr. 28)

Udayana, grieved at the report of the death of his dear wife, Vāsavadattā and his great minister, in a fire, during his absence, attempted to jump into the fire. He was held back by his ministers. Hugging the charred remains of the ornaments of his queen, the king fell down unconscious and then by degrees he regained consciousness. (S. V. 129)

Indigestion and Chr. rheumatism: The jester, delighted on the occasion of the marriage of his master, the King of Vatsa, feels as if he were in heaven. But, he realises one drawback. "I cannot digest my food at all. I get no sleep on the downiest beds. I feel gout (vātam) hovering all over my body". And though a jester intent on fun and dainties, he makes a profound remark: "There is no happiness in life without good health and fine food". (S. V. 136)

Headache: When the King was going to the bridal chamber to see his newly wedded wife, Padmāvatī, the jester meets him and tells him that the princess was having a bad headache. Padminī a maid who gave this information to the jester says "I shall meanwhile go and hurry up with the ointment for her forehead". Another maid also talks of the ointment. One wise maid adds "Go and quickly call lady Āvantikā, who will relieve the severe headache by telling the princess amusing stories." The king and the jester enter the Ocean Pavilion, expecting to see Padmāvatī confined to bed but find her bed unoccupied and unruffled. The king observes "The pillow is not crushed or stained yellow or blue or green or red with any headache ointment". (S. V. 147)

In the less wellknown drama, a maid of the Princess says "The Queen has asked me to enquire whether you are still suffering from severe headache and has sent this medicine for application to the temples." The Princess takes it and rubs the ointment on the forehead and temples. (Avimārakam)

Lovesickness-Chlorosis : Talking of the lovelorn Princess of Kuntibhoja, the maids describe her thus : "She does not relish food. She talks incoherently. She is forgetful ; laughs and weeps alternately. She says she is ill. She is emaciated. Her *body is white and pale.*" (Avimārakam).

Death of infants : (1) *Suchetanā*, Queen of Kāśī had the misfortune of giving birth to an infant which died soon after birth (Avimārakam). (2) *Bālacaritam* describes how the cowherd keeper, Nanda came out at the dead of night carrying the dead body of the infant for disposal. He mentions that his wife gave birth to an infant which died soon after birth. Vasudeva hands over baby Kṛṣṇa to Nanda to replace the dead infant. Just as Vasudeva was tracing his steps homeward, he heard the cries of the infant, which appeared to revive. So, he takes the infant back to the prison to be given to Kaṁsa. (3) Another interesting passage relates that Pūtanā came in the first ten days after the birth of Kṛṣṇa in the guise of Yaśodā and gave milk. Kṛṣṇa is supposed to have killed her by sucking her milk and life. When we read that *Pūtanā* is a name of a disease affecting nurslings, probably due to defects in breast milk, one may conjucture that the baby was attacked by an illness, due to a wetnurse, suffering from Beri-beri.

Consumption is mentioned by name in connection with sweets which were supposed to produce the disease (P. Y. 195). *Dwarfism and deformity.* Kṛṣṇa touched Madanikā the dwarf girl attendant in charge of flowers and scents and lo : her deformity disappeared and she stood erect, (*Bālacarita*) *Callosity due to the Bowstring.* Arjuna is said to have had a well developed callosity, Narikaya, on the forearm due to his constant and powerful use of the bow, (*Pancarātram*).

Mental disease. Kaṁsa sees visions, suffers from hallucinations and obsessions. Madmen were not rare sights. A mad

Brāhmaṇa came to a feeding centre and left his clothes. The description of the actions and the apt language and sentiments used by the great minister in the guise of a madman are true pictures from life ; for instance, the madman with his uncontrolled laughter, his seemingly incoherent talk about Indra, Moon etc., his conversations with imaginary persons he calls his Masters (P. Y. 103–110).

Appearance and talk and actions of a drunken man. A soldier describes the mahout, *Gātrasevaka* as " full of liquor laughing loudly dead drunk, with eyes red as china roses." Any one who reads the passage, (omitted here for want of space) may see what is a wonderful " talking picture " of a drunken man. (V. Y. 111).

Interesting Terms and Observations

The king remembering his wife, Vāsavadattā, asks the jester "¡Can one forget a love which shook the heart ?" He also describes her play on the lute " as if playing on my life-strings or my heart-knots " (S. V. 147). The king hides his love for his former wife from Padmāvatī and says to himself. " This young girl, though brave, is newly wed. If she learns the truth, her heart will bleed " (S. V. 144). A chamberlain assures the king : " Your rear will be protected with love by us with the last drops in our veins" (S. V. 151). S'akāra tells the rake about Vasantasenā. " She has stolen my heart along with the pericardiun." (*Cārudatta*)

Equally interesting and intelligent are some of the clinical observations.

(1) The king finds that the bed in the Ocean Pavilion was not slept in :—" Nothing is here to divert the patient's eye. No sick person will from bed so promptly rise."

(2) Vāsavadattā approaches the bed under the impression that the princess Padmāvatī suffering from headache is resting there but notes the following " Oh, the carelessness of the servants. Padmāvatī is ill and yet, all of them have left her. Happily, her breathing is easy, unobstructed and regular. Her headache must have left her." (S. V. 147-148)

Food and water :—When Vasudeva tells Nanda to look after and nurse well the baby Kṛṣṇa, Nanda immediately replies, " He will have plenty of milk, curds and butter." In the same drama, talking of the prosperity of the people at *Vrepalle*, an old man tells that the cattle were free from diseases, and the people had plenty of milk, curds, bulbous roots, fruits, pulses, grains, etc. (*Bālacarita*). Avimāraka's description of Monsoon Clouds, suggests that there were water-sheds with *contrivances* (yantras) for supplying drinking water.

Maitreya, a friend of Cārudatta says, " Your money and trade have fled like boys of cowherds afraid of *mosquitoes*."

Injuries, wounds and treatments. Tigers were as much a nuisance then as dogs and jackals are at present. Caṇḍa Bhārgava is described as bringing back to life a pupil of his, attacked and killed by a tiger, (*Avimārakam*). Rāvaṇa desires to despatch Jaṭāyu, the eagle, to the abode of Yama, by severing the wings with his sword, and causing the limbs to become wet with profuse blood dropping from the wounds (Pr. 48). In the ensuing fight, Rāvaṇa strikes the bird on the region of the right shoulder and the bird falls down. Bharata tells Rāma not to remind him of the painful episode. " You should not strike at the wound now " (Pr. 38). When Sītā comments on the sad countenance of Rāma, he replies " My body being struck by the arrow-head of death, the wound of my heart is just as green as before : and the strokes of the arrows of sorrow having various points fall on the same place over and over again ". (Pr. 42)

Yaugandharāyaṇa, the clever and loyal minister of Kauśāmbī, was taken prisoner in Ujjain after a fight in which his sword was broken. When his rival, Bharatarohaka, comes to see the captured minister, Yaugandharāyaṇa says " Gaze at me. My limbs are smeared with blood like a soldier's as they should be after a fight " (P. Y. 116). The same minister, listening to the message of Mahāsena, the king of Ujjain, says : " This honour shown to me well worth punishing resembles lingering death with poisonous darts ". (P. Y. 118)

The most interesting record of all concerns the King of Vatsa caught in the forest by a wily strategem of his opponent.

Taken unwares, the hero began to fight against a foe, superior in numbers. All his followers were dead. Weary with fighting all through the day, the king fainted and fell down from the horse. He was covered with innumerable wounds. Then the enemy bound him with creepers. After he regained consciousness, one wretch rushed at great speed to hack the king, with his sword. But the ground filled with pools of blood was slippery and the wretch slipped, fell down and perished. Meanwhile, S'ālaṅkāyana, one of the ministers of the victorious army, who had himself received a wound from Vatsa Rāja's spear and become unconscious recovered consciousness and came to the spot. He ordered that no violence should be done to the king and released his bonds. " The king was too badly wounded to ride. So, Śalaṅkāyana laid the king in a litter. With many small attentions and courteous expressions of sympathy for his injuries, the minister took the king to Ujjain in a litter carried on the shoulders of men." Pradyota, the king of Ujjain, who learns from his chamberlain about the condition of the captured king, gives the following instructions " I feel sorry to hear that he received so many wounds, (in the foot and body). In this state, it would be cruel to neglect him. Go and ask Bharatarohaka (the chief minister) to attend to the treatment of his wounds." The chamberlain goes to make enquiries and returns with the information. " The Vatsa-king had his wounds dressed on the way. It is too soon they say to do a second dressing." The king continues to make further enquiries about the wounded man. On hearing that the captured king was accommodated near " Peacock's Perches " he ordered that the patient should be removed to the Music room where the wounded man would be sheltered from the sun. The elder king appears to be worried about the exhausted state of the patient, and feels apprehensive of the danger to the life of the Vatsa-king. (P. Y. 90–103)

References to Medicine : Evidences for the existence of the common use of medicines occur here and there, in the dramas. Some have been alluded to. Here are others.

Daśaratha says " Once I see Rāma, with this nectar, I think I live as one whose life ended lives with nectar ".

Avimāraka the hero, pining for his beloved, receives the invitation to go to the palace to meet the princess, and says " When the medicine is available, which patient hesitates to take it ? "

Physical Medicine : A man seeking refuge in Vasantasenā's house, tells her that though he was a *vaiśya* by caste, he learnt and was following the profession of Shampooer (Saṁvāhakavṛtti) He offers to teach the art of massage to the maids and attendants of rich Vasantasenā, as he was very proficient in the 'art (Saṁvāhaṇa kalā).

Āyurveda, a part of Vedic Studies : Rāvaṇa gives the list of subjects he studied. He mentions veda with all its accessary and subaccessary works, Yoga, Political science, logic, Ritual etc. *Sahadeva* is said to be renowned for " Science ", Vijñānam. Nowhere does any reference occur to Āyurveda as a separate entity, nor is there any allusiou to the Gods of Healing.

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SŪKARA-MADDAVA

By

D. G. Koparkar, M.A.

Although the doctrine of *ahiṃsā* or abstention from killing life had its beginnings in the oldest literature of the Hindus, the Buddha is credited on all hands to be the pioneer to translate that doctrine into actual practice throughout his life. Scholars, therefore, are at a loss to know the real sense of the word *Sūkara-maddava* occurring in the *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta* of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*. Here is a conspectus of the various interpretations put on this word by modern orientalists :—

Name	Reference	Interpretation
Fa Chow	BORI, *Silver Jubilee Vol.* p. 129.	(*a*) A kind of fungus which is in shape like an ear on the sandalwood tree (People in China usually take it as a kind of tonic.) (*b*) A plant or fungus liable to poison the human system sometimes. (*c*) Compares it to *ḍukarī* (lucious to pigs), a kind of grain.
Fleet	JRAS, 1906 p. 658n.	(*a*) Boar's flesh ; (*b*) Succulent parts, tit-bits of a young wild boar.
O. Franke	*Dīgha Ni.*, Trans., p. 222f.	Soft (tender) boar's flesh.
Dr. Hoey	JASB, 1900, p. 80n.	It is the same as *sūkara-kanda*, the root of a bulbus plant, a sort of truffle, included in *phalāhāra*.
E. W. Hopkins	JAOS, Vol. 27, p. 458.	(*a*) The Buddha (perhaps) died of eating pork, flesh of a wild boar, boar-tender (loin ?). (*b*) He prefers, 'some vegetable eaten by a boar'.

Paul Masson-oursel, ***and others.***	*Ancient India*, Kegan Paul, 1934,	The old man's death was brought on by indigestion caused by eating boar's flesh.
K. E. Neumann	*Majjhima Nikāya*, Trans., p. xx	'Pig 's delight ', name of a kind of truffles.
Oldenberg	(*a*) *Reden des Buddha*, 1922 p. 100. (*b*) English Trans., p. 200	'Pork '; our text (*Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta*) with a *naïveté* far removed from modern affectation has preserved to us the information that his illness was brought on by eating pork.
Rhys-Davids	*Dialogues*, II, p. 137.	Quantity of truffles.
Rhys-Davids	(*a*) SBE, XI, p. 71, (*b*) *PTS Dict.*	Dried boar's flesh.
A. Waley	*Melanges Chinois et bouddhique*, Bruxelles, 1931–32, p. 343 ff.	(*a*) The soft of a pig's soft food, *i. e.* food eaten by pigs. (*b*) Pounded or trampled by pigs.
Watters	*On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 28.	Fungus or mushroom, (The pious black-smith was not likely to cook pickled pork for the Buddha).

(This table will serve also as a sort of bibliography on the subject, and unless explicitly stated to the contrary the references against the above writers are taken for granted in the following pages.)

Effort is made in the following few lines to trace the original meaning of the term *sūkara-maddava*.

The above table makes it clear that instead of the literal and straight-forward translation, soft flesh of a boar, various brains have fabricated ingenious ways of interpreting the word. These conjectures are not inapposite in view of the prevailing strong conviction that the Buddha, as the exponent of non-

violence, must have been a vegetarian. **E. W. Hopkins** thus simply begs the question by saying that "the Buddha ought to have the benefit of doubt."

Dr. Hoey, Neumann, and **Fa Chow** have collected several instances of truffle-like roots, or edible plants or seeds having such names, but so far as the Pali Canonical texts are concerned, the only case where the name of a plant, or fruit, or grain contains the word *sūkara* is *sūkara-sāli*, occurring only once in the *Jātakas*[1] (vi. 531) and where too the variant *suka-sāli* (grains of wild rice liked by parrots) seems equally likely[2]. The word *suka* is not new to Pali. It is used twice in the *Jātakas* (I. 458 ; II. 132), though the more common form is *suva*.

The Buddhists were Flesh-Eaters

That the members of the Buddhist laity as well as fraternity were flesh-eaters, and are to some degree still so is clear from the following points: **E. W. Hopkins** has ransacked the whole of the *Tipiṭaka* and has come to the conclusion that flesh and fish were common in the meal of the Buddhist lay devotees as well as monks. **Prof. Dharmānanda Kosambī** has recently published his views on the diet of the Buddha's times, with conclusive proofs from Buddhist and Jain sources, that it would have been impossible for the beggarly mendicants —both Jain and Buddhist—to get food perfectly vegetarian.[3] With their vow of begging from house to house without excluding a single one (*sapadāna-cariyā*) they would simply have starved. Meat-eating on the whole was not forbidden, though it was a work of supererogation to abstain from it. The *Pātimokkha* does not allow flesh and fish merely on the ground that they are delicacies, while the oft-repeated injunction in the *Mahāvagga*, instead of directly ruling out meat simply prohibits keeping a store of superfluous meat.

Hiouen Tsang in his '*Travels*' (Vol. 14, p. 54) has recorded that the Buddhist brethren in the monasteries of Yenki were taking the three kinds of flesh—unseen, unheard, and un-

1. Vide ***PTS Dict.***, under *Sūkara*.
2. Cf. Kādambarī, Part I, the parrot's story—शालिवल्लरीभ्यस्तण्डुलकणानादायादाय......मह्यमदात् ।
3. *Bhagavān Buddha*, Part II, Nava-Bharat Grantha, p. 106.

suspected. The present custom of the Burmese Buddhists, as noted by H. **Fielding Hall**[1] is that every-one eats meat, even the monks. **Prof. Dharmānanda Kosambī** also remarks that the modern Buddhist monks are not generally averse to taking flesh.[2]

Their Attitude towards Pork

The flesh of the pig is not at all condemned in the injunctions of the *Pātimokkha*[3] where so many other minute details about begging and eating are given and where we should aptly expect a direct interdiction of pork, had it been really banned to the monks. Similarly, in the *Mahāvagga VI* where the Blessed One prohibits the Order from eating the flesh of elephants, etc., he does not mention pork in the list. This means that he was not against it. The pig is no doubt tabooed in the Islamic communities, but not so in the ancient Hindoos. The *Jātakas* (Nos. 504, 30, 286) bear sufficient proof to the custom, which is prevalent even now, of fattening the pigs with food in order to make all sorts of dainty dishes. In *Jātaka* No. 388, the pigs raised for flesh (the 'porkers') bewail their lot :

Maṃsatthāya hi mayam posiyāmase indicating that boar-flesh was common even in villages. **Fa Chow** has also noted that pork-eating in China is as common as milk-drinking is in India. To the Chinese, the pig is a symbol of fortune and wealth and in their pictographic script the picture of a house with a pig in it denotes riches.

The Buddha used to eat Pork

The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (V. 5. 44) is, however, useful for us to cut the Gordian knot, where it is asserted by Ugga, the householder of Vesālī, that the Blessed One had affinity for the pleasant (*manāpa*) boar's flesh, and that he had, therefore, prepared *sampanna-kolakaṃ sūkara-maṃsaṃ* (v. 1. *sampanna-varasūkara-maṃsaṃ*) which expression is explained by the commentator Buddhaghosa, as " pickled one-year-old pig's flesh with plenty of sweet-tasting jujube fruit and cummin condi-

1. *People at School*, 1906, p. 257.
2. *Bhagavān Buddha*, Part II, p. 95.
3. Vide *Sekhiyā Dhammā*.

ment." The Blessed One accepted it and Ugga was pleased. The Lord then thanked him for the dish and went away. Ugga in his life after death was rewarded for this act and was born in some *manomaya kāya* (inferable world). The text, here, is not ambiguous in the least and the word *maṃsa* is quite decisive. The *Aṅguttara* was fixed in its modern form at least two centuries B. C. and is, therefore, older and more reliable than any of the commentators whether of the Lower Vehicle or of the Higher Vehicle, that are cited below.

The Commentators

The oldest criticism against the Buddha's last illness is directed without any reserve by the king Milinda in the *Milinda Pañha*. The king mentions it as the prevalent charge of the heretics against the Buddhists; that their Saviour died of red dysentery (*lohita-pakkhandikā*)[1] caused by his eating too much out of greediness. The revered Nagasena, instead of denying in plain terms the charge that it was on account of flesh-eating that the Buddha died, tries to attribute other reasons to the Great Demise of the Teacher. He says: (1) The gods communicated a divine power of nourishment (*dibbaṃ ojaṃ*)[2] to the *sūkara-maddava*, the last meal of the Tathāgata, prepared so piously by the smith. (2) The sharp sicknes fell upon the Blessed One and grew worse and worse because of the extreme weakness of his body and (3) because of the period of life he had to live had been exhausted. He also guarantees the king that the *sūkara-maddava.* was well-cooked, light, pleasant, full of flavour, and good for digestion. The passage as such does not throw any light on the word *sūkara-maddava.* **Dr. Hoey** argues that the word *bhatta* is used for the *sūkara-maddava* and hence it must have been some vegetarian preparation. Granting that the word *bhatta* can never mean meat, we still cannot admit what **Dr. Hoey** says. For, the word *bhatta* in the stanza[3] *Cundassa bhattaṃ bhuñjitvā* etc., refers to the entire dinner served by the smith, and we learn that the dinner was not constituted of pork pure and simple—no dinner,

1. PTS ed. p. 175. 2. Cf. *ibid*, p. 227.
3. *Mahā-parinibhāṇa Sutta, IV. 23*; *Milinda*. p. 175.

I presume, can be so—but Cunda had also prepared other things: sweet rice and cakes,[1] the *sūkara-maddava* being perhaps the most important item or "course" in the menu.

The Buddhist monk and scholar, Buddhaghosa, supplies us with three interpretations of the term in his commentary, *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, on the *Dīgha Nikāya* written in the first quarter of the fifth century A. D.: (1) It is the cooked, soft and oily flesh of a fat pig which is neither too young, nor too old. (2) Others say that it is some soft food (*odanaṃ*) cooked with the five preparations (curds, ghee, etc.) of cow's milk. It, they say, is the name of a dish, as *gava-pāna* is the name of another dish. (3) There are others who hold that *sūkara-maddava* is some medical drug (*rasāyana-vidhi*) described in (the treatises of) chemistry, and that it was offered to the Blessed One by Cunda in order to postpone his *nirvāṇa*.

In his gloss on the *Udāna* (VIII. 5), the commentator Dhammapāla has given with approbation the view of the older *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*[3] written in the Mahā-vihāra of Anurādhapur in Ceylon, that *sūkara-maddava* means boar's flesh made tender and nice. Then he quotes (perhaps the contemporary) views of others that (1) the word indicates the tender top-sprouts of young bamboos trampled upon ($\sqrt{mṛd}$) by swine, and of still others that (2) the word is used for a kind of mushrooms (*ahi-cchattakaṃ*) grown at a spot trodden by pigs. Lastly he notices some who take the word to mean (3) some flavouring or sauce.

It will be obvious what view the two commntators endorsed, if we extend the scope of the grammarians' dictum *abhyarhitaṃ pūrvaṃ*, to the present case. While giving the non-vegetarian meaning to the word, they do not begin with "others say". Thus it appears to be their own opinion.

The feelings of these Hīnayāna monks were thus not hurt in choosing the non-vegetarian meaning and this is further

1. —Do— IV. 17.
2. "One-year-old pig's flesh", see *ante*.
3. The commentary is now lost.

attested by the Ceylonese gloss on the word *sūkara-maddava*, written in 1877 A. D. by five Buddhist monks. It runs thus :

E taruṇu wū ūru maṃsayehi[1]

Mahāyānist View

Buddhayasa, a Mahāyāna monk of Kābul, was a contemporary of Buddhaghosa. He, while commenting on the word in the Dīghāgama, interprets : a food " prepared from a separate stew of ears of the sandal-wood tree which was considered a great delicacy in those days."[2] The Great Vehicle School (Mahāyāna) had views sometimes directly opposed to the Lower Vehicle School (Hīnayāna). The fact is that during the two centuries and later, following the Buddha's *nirvāṇa* his religion was slowly changing and incorporating popular superstitions and customs " so much so that in a sense and to a certain extent the Buddha himself was not a Buddhist."[3] *Ahiṃsā* was stressed more and more than what the Buddha did, probably under Brahmanical influence, but more probably under the influence of the new entrants, who were formerly Brāhmaṇas and who embraced the Buddhist faith with their leanings towards *ahiṃsā* far developed.[4]

The Mahāyāna cult became firmly established in China, and if we read any Chinese work giving the account of the Buddha's death we find any sort of *euphemism* used for the word *sūkara-maddava.* The writers so much averse, at least in theory, to flesh-eating did not suffer their Master overfeeding with pork. The very idea was so abhorrent to these later Buddhists that they had no other go but to evade the truth by speaking vaguely about the matter. Compare, for example, the following account of the Buddha's last meal given by **Rv. Joseph Edkins** : " Cunda, a lay disciple, addressed him in the words, now we desire to make our *small offering*. The Buddha replied : I accept your offering for it is the last you will present to me."[5] And again on the next page, " The

1. *Milinda Pañha*, Colombo, 1877.
2. As given by Fa Chow.
3. R. Sathianathaier, *Indian History*, Vol. I, p. 89.
4. "Probably the later accession of Brahmanical converts tended to the greater strictness of the Buddhists in this regard." E. W. Hopkins.
5. *Chinese Buddhism*, Kegan Paul, 1893, p. 50.

compiler of the Great Development School takes the opportunity here to throw blame on the Lesser Development School because it allows flesh and fish to be eaten on certain occasions." Contrast with this the following remark of **Oldenberg** : "The external features of the narrative in the *Mahā-parinibbāṇa Sutta* bear for the most part, though perhaps not in every particular, the stamp of trustworthy tradition."[1] By the *Sutta* the above Chinese version is rendered superfluous and fictitious. The Mahāyānists were perfectly vegetarian and so they blamed the Hīnayānists for their taking concession to eat flesh and fish. How would then these Puritans like their First Preceptor being said to have eaten pork ?

Analogical Instances

That a general apathy for meat-eating gradually developed among the Indians is evinced from various quarters. The earlier *Gṛhya Sūtras* or manuals of domestic ritual, while dilating on the food to be given to the child at the time of the rite of *annaprāśana* seem specially to have chosen flesh—mutton if the father is desirous of nourishment, partridge-flesh if he wants to secure religious lustre, meat of the Bhāradvāja bird when he wishes fluency of speech for the child, and so on. One who desires to have everything should mix all kinds of flesh and feed the child. The later *Manuals* have, however, supplied various vegetarian options so that in the end the custom of feeding the child with flesh became quite obsolete.[2]

Similar is the case with the ceremony of ***madhuparka*** or reception of guests, and with the rite of marriage. Killing of a cow was a necessity according to Āśvalāyana (I. 24. 33) and Āpastabma (I–3–9). Later on came the emendation that in case the guest did not wish this animal to be killed, he should be given some other flesh. But the latest sūtras prescribe some preparation of milk, for after all milk is a part of the cow.[2]

Even in the older Brahmanical ritual, a beast was indispensable for offering in the sacrifice. To the later priests the idea of killing innocent victims was quite revolting and so the

1. *The Buddha*,—p. 196.
2. **Mrs. Deshpande**, *Child in Ancient India*, pp. 120, 121, 198.

puroḍāśa was invented as an imitation of and a substitute for the victim. The climax was reached in the Upaniṣadic period when the idea of meditation and mental sacrifice became rife.

Conclusion

The conclusion, therefore, seems inevitable that the meal served by Cunda to the Buhdha no doubt contained some preparation of pork and that the pious devotee must have intentionally prepared it overnight as he knew that the Buddha was fond of it. The *Mahā-parinibbāṇa Sutta* tells us that it was not any ordinary food, of which anyone might safely partake. The Buddha's remarks show that even he himself did not eat that food with impunity on that occasion. It also seems certain that the Buddha accepted the food, going against his own prohibition of *uddissa-kaṭa* flesh only because as a true propagandist he did not think it feasible to hurt the feelings of the devout Cunda. His speech further distinctly points to the rich animal food as being liable to quickly decompose with unpleasant results. It is uncritical to argue from this that the Buddha died of eating too much of pork with greediness. He was moderate in all his deportments (*iriyāpatha*) and one can only say that too much of physical exertion, constant strain, general debility, and want of rest were the real causes of the sudden collapse of the mortal frame of the octogenarian.[1]

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1. Paper submitted to the 12th All India Oriental Conference, Benares, December, 1943.

JURIDICAL STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN LAW

THE ĀSURA-VIVĀHA AND THE ĀRṢA-VIVĀHA[1]

BY

Dr. Ludwik Sternbach

I

1. All the forms of marriage we find in the Ancient Indian sources are represented there in a parallel manner that means that in every source of law we meet simultaneously with all the above mentioned forms of marriage. On considering and interpreting the forms of marriage from this point of view a statement could be made that all the authors consider all the forms of marriage as being in contemporary use at the time of the validity of the individual Smṛtis.

After being acquainted with the problem in question, this point of view seems to be wrong. I dare say that the forms of marriage had experienced the same evolution in Ancient India as they generally developed everywhere and some of the rules contained in the Smṛtis were only archaic ones.

On the basis of sociology of law based on examples found among the peoples of antiquity and the peoples of a lower level of civilisation and other peoples, we can establish that the first form of marriage was marriage by capture, represented in India by the Rākṣasa and Paiśāca-vivāha, then marriage by purchase (or by consideration), represented in India by the Āsura-vivāha, marriage by sham-purchase represented in India by the Ārṣa-vivāha, marriage based on choice of a husband by the girl's father independently of her consent, and marriage based on the free cosent of the bride and the bridegroom.

The task of this short paper will be to prove on the basis of legal rules found in the Dharmaśāstras, that in Ancient India marriage by purchase (Āsura-vivāha) was superceded by marriage by sham-purchase (Ārṣa-vivāha).

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1. The paper was pressnted to the VI Indian History Congress, Aligarh, 1943.

II

2. Of the most important sources of law the Āsura-vivāha and the Ārṣa-vivāha are quoted in Manu (Mn.), Yājñavalkya (Y.), Baudhāyana (B.), Gautama (G.), Nārada (N.), Vāsiṣṭha (Vās.), Viṣṇu (Vi.), Śāṅkhāyana (Śāṅkh.), Devala (Dev.), Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (K.), Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra (Aśv.), Mahābhārata (MBh.), Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra (Kām.), Pañcasāyaka (Pañc.) etc.

3. The Āsura-vivāha, called also Mānuṣa, is defined clearly and in few words only in Vi.[1] We read if the damsel is sold to the bridegroom it is called an Āsura-marriage. In other words this form of marriage is based upon the purchase of the maiden by the suitor.[2]

In this form of marriage the maiden (bride)[3] can be married or wedded[4] when the bridegroom (suitor)[5] gives to her father or her kinsmen[6] or—as G.[7] very clearly states—to those who have authority over a girl :—money or other valuable goods [8] [9]. We know that the woman could never be independent ; she had to be protected by her father in her infancy, by her husband during her youth, by her son during her seniority.[10] For that reason it must be accepted that the designation of persons to whom the bridegroom or suitor gives money for the maiden is : " those who have authority over the maiden ".

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1. Vi. XXIV-24.

2. The marriages of Kaikeyī, Gāndhārī and Mādrī (in the epics), Isidāsī (in the Pāli literature) etc.

3. Mn. III-31, Vās. I-35, B. I-11, 20, 7, Śāṅkh. IV-5, Āśv. I, 6, 6, Vi. XXIV-24, N. XII-42, K. III-2, Paiṭh. (Vīr. Saṁs. p. 853), MBh. XIII-44, I-102, Pañc. by Schmidt 527.

4. Mn. III-31, Āp. II-5, 12, 6, Vās. I-35, B. I-11, 20, 7, Āśv. I-6,6, Paiṭh. (Vīr. Saṁs. 858), MBh. XIII-44.

5. Āp. I-5, 12, 1, Āśv. I-6-6 etc.

6. Mn. III-31, B. I-11, 20, 7, Āp. II-6, 13, 12, N. XII-42, MBh. XIII-44.

7. G. IV-11.

8. Mn. III-31, Āp. II-5, 12, 1, B. I-11, 20, 7, G. IV-11, N. XII-42, Y. I-61, Vās. I-35, Vi. XXIV-24, Śāṅkh. IV-5, K. III-2, Paiṭh. (Vīr. Saṁs. 858), MBh. XIII-44. I-102 Pañc., (by Schmidt 527).

9. At another place K. says that the father and the mother receive money (शुल्क) - (K. IV-2)

10. Mn. V-148, IX-3, Y. I-85, 86, B. II-3, 45, Vās. V-3, Vi. XXV-13, MBh. XIII-46, 14, Āpar. 109 etc.

4. The most difficult question regarding this form of marriage is the question of how much the suitor had to pay for the maiden. We do not find a clear answer. We find in MBh.[1] the statement that a fixed amount has to be paid for the maiden, and in Āp.[2] that the suitor has to pay according to his ability, similarly in Mn.[3] where we read that the suitor has to pay as much as he can afford. We see here for the first time that the price of the maiden has to be high and that the bridegroom has to make an effort for paying the price for the maiden. A similar definition of the amount to be paid for the maiden is to be found in K.[4] where we read that plenty of money has to be received (*scillicet* by the persons who have authority over the maiden). Similarly in Y.[5]. This Dharmaśāstra designates this form of marriage as a marriage in which money is largely given.[6] Bāl. gives a philological explanation of the word आद्दानात् which can be found in the text. According to him this word means the giving (दान) of a large quantity (आ). Also in MBh. and Pañc.[7] we read that the price paid for the maiden must be high.

The precise amount which had to be paid for the bride can be found in Vās.[8] where we read: " if a gift of one thousand oxen fit to draw a carriage (has been bestowed) according to the rule on a perfectly worthy man, that is equal to giving a maiden." It may be seen from this passage that the price of a maiden amounts to 1000 oxen and a carriage. But in the same Dharmasūtra in another place we find that 100 cows besides a carriage should be given.[9] That is a passage from the Vedas and we find the same passage (only enlarged) in Āp.[10] of course neither of the passages is absolutely binding but these passages give an idea of the scale of payment for a maiden ; this amount was, of course, very high in those times.

Vās.[11] mentions that the suitor makes a bargain with the father.[12]

1. MBh. I-102. 2. Āp. II-5, 12, 1. 3. Mn. III-31.
4. K. III-2. 5. Y. I-64. 6. See Mīt. *ady.* I-61.
7. MBh. XIII-44, Pañc. by Schmidt 527. 8. Vās. XXIX-21.
9. Vās. I-36. 10. Āp. II-16, 13, 12.
11. Vās. I-35. 12. See B. II-1, 2, 27.

5. It must be pointed out that according to Mn. and Pañc.[1] the bridegroom has to give wealth for his future wife not only to her kinsmen *i. e.* to " those who have authority over the maiden " but also—according to his own will—to the bride herself. He has to give according to Pañc.[2] investments, jewels, and gold.[3]

6. As the girl is an article of merchandise, all her defects have to be mentioned by the person who gives her in marriage.[4] If this person gives away the girl without mentioning her defects he is liable to punishment at the highest amercement[5] but if he mentions her defects he will be free of punishment,[6] These defects are: madness,[7] chronic and loathsome desease[8] like elephantiasis[9] and shortness of limbs[10], loss of virginity[11] or immodesty or an attachment to another man.[12] Doubtless these " defects " are mentioned in the sources as examples only. Although it is not mentioned that these rules are applicable to the Āsura-vivāha, it must, however, be admitted they were applied in this form of marriage because they are placed amongst the rules, which relate to the sale of marchandise.[13]

The preceding sentence in Mn. relates to the sale of merchandise other than that which was chosen. We read there that if after one girl has been shown another be given to the bridegroom, he may marry them both for the same price.[14] In other words if he who concluded an agreement concerning the sale of the maiden gives a girl other than the one promised he has to give the promised girl as well, as amercement. This rule found only in Mn. is very strange on account of the standpoint represented, but this Dharmaśāstra in other places

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1. Mn. III-31, Pañc. by Schmidt 527.
2. Pañc. by Schmidt 527, similarly Āśv. XVI-1, 6.
3. Concerning the Āsura-vivāha recorded in Ancient Indian tradition see Dr. A. S. Altekar's — The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation p. 47-48.
4. Mn. VIII-205, Y. I-66, N. in Aparārka p. 96.
5. Y. I-66, N. in Aparārka p. 95.
6. Mn. VIII-205.
7. Mn. VIII-205.
8. N. in Aparārka p. 95.
9. Mn. VIII-205.
10. N. in Aparārka p. 95.
11. Mn. VIII-205, N. in Aparārka p. 95.
12. N. in Aparārka p. 95.
13. Mn.
14. Mn. VIII-204.

does not allow the practice of marriage by purchase. Therefore, it must be admitted that this rule, like other rules in Mn. concerning the Āsura-vivāha is archaic.

Another very interesting case in law is discussed in Mn. *i. e.* what occurs if the buyer dies after having paid the price but before the girl has been given by her father or guardian. Some commentators like Kull.[1] add " before the cosummation of the marriage ". According to Mn. if after the nuptial fee has been paid for a maiden the giver of the fee dies, she shall be given in marriage to his brother, if she consents.[2] This rule is a consequence of the fundamental notion which is to be found in Mn. IX—69. According to this rule if the betrothed of a maiden dies after she has been promised to him she shall be given in marriage to his brother.[3]

The difference between these two rules is not inconsiderable although it is a case of marriage by purchase the girl must give her consent to her marriage to the brother of the buyer.

From the interpretation of these two rules[4] we see, perhaps, the first stage of the restriction of this form of marriage in the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra, as according to other sources in the case of the Āsura-vivāha the girl will belong to the father[5] or shall wait for three menstrual periods and then marry another person.[6] [7]

7. The Ārṣa-vivāha is confirmed by the gift of a bull and a cow.

It may be said that the marriage was contracted according to this form when the father[8] or—more correctly speaking—who had authority over the maiden[9] gives away *i. e.* gives his

1. *ad.* Mn. IX-97. 2. Mn. IX-97.
3. See Vās. XVII-72, Kāty. (Vīr. Saṁs. p. 739).
4. Mn. IX-97, and IX-69. 5. Vās. XVII-72.
6. Kāty. (Vīr. Saṁs. p. 739).
7. It has to be pointed out that a completely different definition of the Āsura-vivāha is to be found in Hārīta-Smṛti. This definition given probably in more recent times, has nothing to do with the classical definition of this form of marriage. We find there the following sentence : " When the girl is given away to a man who is suspected by other people of hypocricy and deceit it is Āsura-vivāha ". (Vīr. Saṁs. p. 853).
8. Āp. II-5, 11, 18, K. II-2. 9. G. IV-8, B. I-11, 20, 4.

daughter (bride in marriage[1]), or approves this marriage after receiving[2] from the bridegroom[3]—who should be praiseworthy and not belonging to the same gotra[4]—(which reservations must be understood more as a counsel than an order), a cow and a bull.[5] [6]

Sometimes we find in the Smṛtis other expressions for instance in Y. (two cows), but always the Smṛtis mean a cow and a bull. The two well known commentators on Y—Mitākṣarā and Bāl. explain that the term cows must be understood as a cow and a bull. But sometimes instead of a cow and bull " a suit of clothes "[7] may be given for the maiden or besides a cow and a bull—a dress[8] or generally speaking-wealth.[9]

This present of a bull and a cow has to be given " for the fulfilment of a sacred law "[10] *i. e.* according to the commentators on Mn. " pronouncing the words prescribed for making a gift ".[11] It has to be offered " after the first of the burnt offerings of parched grain which are prescribed for weddings " according to the commentaries on B.[12]

The Āsura-vivāha is considered as an unlawful (unrighteous, improper) form of marriage probably for the Brāhmaṇas[13] and so unlawful that it should never be practised,[14] but on the other hand in another place in Mn. it is considered as lawful probably for the Brāhmaṇas.[15] According to G. some say even that this form of marriage is lawful for the Brāhmaṇas.[16] But

1. Mn. III-29, Āp. II-5, 11, 18, Śankh. IV-4, Y. I-59, K. III-2, MBh. Ādi Parva 112, Dev. (Vīr. Saṁs. 851).

2. Mn. III-29, Āp. II-5, 11, 18, G IV-8, N. XII-41, Y. I-59, MBh. Ādi Parva 112.

3. Mn. III-27, Āp. II-5, 11, 18, Dev. (Vīr. Sams. 851).

4. Dev. (Vīr. Saṁs. 851).

5. For the purpose of getting milk for religious sacrifices.

6. Mn. III-29, Āp. II-5, 11, 18, G. IV-8, Vās. II-32, B. I-11, 20, 4, Śāṅkh. IV-4, Āśv I-6, 4, N. XII-41, and similarly Dev. (Vīr. Saṁs. 851), Vi. XXIV-21, Śānkh. Likh. (Vīr. Sams. 851), K. III-2, Kām. 23, Y. I-59.

7. Śānkh. Likh. (Vīr. Sams, 851). 8. N. XII-41.

9. Kām. 23. 10. Mn. III-29.

11. In S. B. E. XXIV *ad* Mn. III-29.

12. Gov. quoted in S. B. E. XIV *ad* B. I-11, 20, 4.

13. N. XII-44, MBh. XIII-44, Ādi Parva 73.

14. MBh. XIII-44, Ādi Parva 73, Mn. III-25.

15. Mn. III-23. 16. G. V-15.

this form of marriage is permissible for Vaiśyas and Śūdras according to B.,[1] and to Kṣatrias, Vaiśyas and Śūdras according to the Smṛtis last mentioned[2] and to Kṣatriyas according to MBh.[3] And here again the author of Mn. gives some theories on the same subject. These conflicting opinions are an attempt to reconcile the various tricks of interpretation.

8. The Āsura-vivāha, according to the rules, takes the first or the second place in the list of the forms of marriage after the orthodox forms. It takes the fifth place in the general list of the forms of marriage[4] after Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa and Prājāpatya and in Āp.[5] (the fifth place after Brāhma, Ārṣa Daiva and Gāndharva). According to the rest of the Smṛtis the Āsura-vivāha takes the sixth place after Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Ārsa, Daiva and Gāndharva,[6] but only according to Vās. the sixth and last place in the list of the forms of marriage, after Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Gāndharva and Rākṣasa (Vās. does not mention Prājapatya and Paiśāca).[7]

9. The Ārṣa-vivāha takes a high place in the list of the forms of marriage in Ancient India. It takes the third place after Brāhma and Daiva[18] and the second place after Brāhma and Prājāpatya;[1] and the fourth place after Brāhma, Daiva and Prājāpatya.[2]

10. The Āsura-vivāha is similar to the Roman *coëmtio* especially "*coëmtio uxoris*". The initiative for marriage of this form lies with the suitor and the girl has not the right to choose her husband for herself. Those in authority over the girl—the father, mother or guardian—undertook the choice on her behalf. This choice did not depend on the good qualities of the suitor but primarily on his pecuniary position and on the price he was prepared to pay.

1. B. I-11, 20, 13, Mn. III-34, and Pañc. 10, 2526.
2. Mn. III-23. 13. MBh. Ādi Parva 73.
4. Mn: III-21, Y. I-59, 61, Śāṅkh. IV-2, Vi. XXIV-19.
5. Āp. III-5, 12.
6. K. III, G. IV, B. I-11, 20, N. XI-38, 39, Āśv. I-6.
7. Vās. I-19.
8. Mn. III-21, Y. I-59-61, Śāṅkh. IV-2, Vi. XXIV-18, Vās. I-19.
9. G. IV, B. I-11, 20, N. XII-38, 39, K. III, Kām. 23.
10. Āśv. Gṛh. I-6.

The fact that the agreement was concluded between the suitor and the person who exerciced power over the girl—was not considered enough to make the marriage complete. It is very probable that the marriage was concluded only after the marriage ceremony had taken place, although, as it appears the participation of the priest was not necessary in this connection.

11. As in the Āsura-vivāha, in the Ārṣa-vivāha, the marriage depends not on choice exercised by the girl, but on choice exercised by her father or guardian. This form of marriage differs from the other orthodox forms of marriage. In the other orthodox forms of marriage, the marriage always depended on the father or guardian and sometimes on the fathers and guardians of both parties (for example in the case of the marriage of children), while in the marriage carried out according to this form of marriage, the first stage was the choice executed by the suitor and the next stage was the supplementary consent on the part of the father or guardian.

As in the Āsura-vivāha, in this form of marriage too, the matrimonial ceremony did not take place before the act of sham-purchase, although it is likely that the participation of a priest was not necessary.

12. The Āsura-vivāha is considered as an unlawful (unrighteous, improper) form of marriage probably for the Brāhmaṇas[1] so unlawful that it should never be practised,[2] but on the other hand in another place in Mn. it is considered as lawful, probably for the Brāhmaṇas.[3] According to G. some say even that this form of marriage is lawful for the Brāhmaṇas.[4] But this form of marriage is permissible to Vaiśyas and Śūdras[5] and to Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras according to the Smṛtis last mentioned,[6] and to Kṣatriyas.[7] And here again the author of Mn. gives some theories on the same subject. These con-

1. N. XIII–44, MBh. XIII–44, Ādi Parva 73.
2. MBh. XIII–44, Ādi Parva 73, Mn. III–25.
3. Mn. III–23. 4. G. IV–15.
5. B. I–11, 20, 13, Mn. III–34, Pañc. 10–2526.
6. Mn. III–23. 7. MBh. Ādi Parva 73.

flicting opinions are also an attempt to reconcile the various tricks of interpretation.

The Āsura-vivāha should be avoided[1] because it is a blameworthy marriage.

From this marriage blamesworthy offsprings are born.[2]

13. Because the Ārṣa-vivāha is considered as praiseworthy[3] it is considered also as lawful (धर्म्य) and righteous probably for the Brāhmaṇas.[4] According to Mn,[5] which source of law gives some theories on this subject, there can be found two expressions *i. e.* that this form of marriage is lawful for Brāhmaṇas and commended (approved) for them,[6] as Mn. gives the point of view of many law teachers on this subject. According to MBh.[7] this form of marriage is proper also for Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas.

The sons born in this form of marriage are endowed with Brahmanic glory and are respected by cultured persons. Endowed with beauty and the quality of goodness, possessing wealth and fame, with full enjoyment and righteousness they live for a hundred years.[8]

A son born of a wife married according to this form of marriage saves three ancestors from hell.[9] According to Y.[10] six men. Mn. explains that he purifies three ancestors and three descendants *i. e.* six men. According to Vi.[11] he purifies seven men and according to Āśv. and Śaunaka[12] seven men on the father's and seven on the mother's side *i. e.* altogether 14 men and according to S'āṅkh. Likh.[13] only five men on the father's side and five on the mother's side and himself *i. e.* altogether 11 men. It is a purely laudatory exaggeration.

1. Mn. III-42, Yama (Vīr. Saṁs. 865).
2. Mn. III-42. Yama (Vīr. Saṁs. 865).
3. Āp. III-5, 12, 3.
4. G. IV-14, B. I-11, 20, 10, N. XII-44, Vi. XXIV-27, Kām. 23, MBh. Ādi Parva 73, XIII-44, Pañc. 10-2526, see Śāṅkh. IV-31.
5. Mn. III-23. 6. Mn. III-24. 7. MBh. Ādi Parva 73.
8. Mn. III-39, 40, Yama (Vīr. Saṁs. p. 865), see B. I-11, 21, 1, Āp II-5, 12, 4.
9. G. IV-30. 10. Y. I-59. 11. Vi. XXIV-31.
12. Āśv. I-6, 1, Śaunaka (Vīr. Saṁs. p. 863).
13. Vīr. Saṁs. p. 865.

Also the father or the guardian who gives the girl in marriage according to the Ārṣa-vivāha gains a merit for himself and for the girl. We read in Vi.[1] "He who gives a girl in marriage) according to the Ārṣa rite (brings her) into the world of Viṣṇu (and enters that world himself)."

III

14. It must be pointed out that concerning the Āsura-vivāha the sources of law may be divided into two groups. One group although it contains the relative rules relating to the Āsura-vivāha, in other places says that the sale of a daughter was a crime and that for that reason this form of marriage was not to be contracted ; on the other hand the second group is based on the Vedas and on other rules as well and permits this form of marriage. To the first group belong : Āp., B. and Mn. to the second group Vās. Other sources of law do not discuss this case.

There seems to be no doubt that the rules which resolve the non-permissibility of this form of marriage belong to the more advanced and more recent rules although the sources of law belong sometimes to the oldest. Knowing the history of the origin of the Smṛtis it can easily be understood.[2]

15. Concerning the first group of laws it must be pointed out that we find in Mn.[3] a sentence which says that the father who knows the law should not accept even a small consideration *i. e.* nuptial fee (शुल्क) by accepting a considera-tion, through avarice, he becomes a child-seller *i. e.* commits a sin. That this was a great sin appears for instance from B.[4] where we read ; " Those wicked men who, seduced by avarice, give away a daughter for a fee, who (thus) sell themselves and commit a great crime, fall (after death) into a dreadful place of punishment and destroy their family down to the seventh (generation). Moreover they will repeatedly die and be born

17. Vi. XXIV-34.

2. For instance in the Deccan and Gujarāt manuscripts we do not find the rule contained in B. I-11, 21, 3 (see below). See also Dr. A. S. Altekar's The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation, p. 42-43.

3. Mn. III-51. 4. B. I-11, 12, 3.

again. All (this) is declared (to happen) if a fee (is taken)." We read also in B.[1] that he who gives away his daughter making a bargain sells a portion of his spiritual merit. Even Āp. clearly declares that the acceptance of a gift and the right to sell (or buy) a child are not recognised[2] *i. e.* not allowed. The same can be seen from another passage of Mn.[3] This sentence is not easy to understand. According to Medh. Nār., and Nand., commentators on Mn., this passage must be understood in the following manner: "But those (male) relations who in their folly live on property obtained by (the sale) of women (*i. e.*) carriages or beasts of burden and clothing (received in exchange for) females commit sin..." Also in the IX book of Mn. we read: "Even a Śūdra ought not to take a nuptial fee when he gives away his daughter, for he who takes a fee sells his daughter, covering the transaction by another name.[4] If a member of the lowest caste cannot sell his daughter still more a member on a higher caste cannot do so. "Nor, indeed,"—concludes Mn.—"have we heard, even in former creation of such (a thing as) the covert sale of a daughter for a fixed price, called a nuptial fee."[5]

But not only does he who sells his daughter commit a great sin, but it is declared that a female who has been purchased for money is not a wife; she cannot assist at sacrifices offered to the gods or the manes. Kāśyapa has stated that she is a slave.[6]

Atri[7] says that the girl will remain in her father's *gotra* and her sons will not be entitled to offer oblations to the ancestors of her husband. According to Padma-Purāṇa[8] even the face of the seller should not be seen.

These rules make clear the point that these sources of law hold that the sale of a daughter by her father or guardian is not allowed and in consequence that the form of marriage by purchase is not allowed.

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1. B. I-1, 22, 27.
2. Āp. II-6, 13, 11.
3. Mn. III-52.
4. Mn. IX-98.
5. Mn. IX-100.
6. B. I-11, 21, 2.
7. Atri 384.
8. Brahmakhaṇḍa 24, 26.

16. But, contrary to these rules we find quite a different sentence in Vās. where we read that the purchase of a girl is mentioned in the following passage of the Vedas: "Therefore one hundred (cows) besides a chariot should be given to the father of the bride."[1] In the next sentence the author of Vās. in reference to Cāturmāsyas says : "She, who has been bought by her husband commits a sin as afterwards she unites herself with a stranger."[2] In these two sentences the author of Vās. says clearly, that the form of marriage by purchase can be contracted.

But the author of Vās. only cites other authors (Veda, Cāturmāsyas) and does not gives his own opinion on this question.

The author of Āp. evidently knows also the same sentence from the Vedas when he says: "It is declared in the Vedas that at the time of marriage a gift for the (fulfilment of) his wishes should be made (by the bridegroom) to the father of the bride in order to fulfil the law. Therefore one hundred (cows) besides a chariot should be given." But the author of Āp. gives his opinion, his own point of view on this question. His opinion belongs to the time of the origin of this Smṛti that is to a period later than the Vedas to nearly the same time as the opinion of Mn. We read in Āp. "In reference to those (marriage rites), the word "sale" (is only used as) a metaphorical expression; for the union (of the husband and wife) is effected through the law." This "sale" is a metaphorical expression—says the author of Āp. because of the fact that the "gift" have to be returned to the giver, and the marriage has to be affected through the law *i. e.* through an action being in accordance with the legal rules. As contrary to the archaic rules of the Vedas, at the time of the legal validity of the Smṛtis,[3] the act of selling the daughter was not recognised, therefore, the form of marriage by purchase was not allowed.

17. This interpretation of the legal rules gives me the basis for the statement that all the Smṛtis (although—like Vās.—they

1. Vās. I-35. 2. Vās. I-37. 3. Āp. II-6, 13, 11.

recognise the admissibility of the form of marriage by purchase) contrary to the ancient rules (found, for instance, in the Vedas) did not admit the form of marriage by purchase. Though the author of Vās. states that this form of marriage is admissible, he did not give his own opinion, but only that of the Vedas and *per analogiam* it must be accepted that this rule from the Vedas must be interpreted in Vās. as in Āp. In this we find a clear interpretation of the same sentence *i. e.* that the form of marriage by purchase is not allowed. We find in Vās. another example of the existence of archaic rules in a Smṛti which were not in use at the time of the legal validity of this Smṛti.

So we can admit that according to all the Smṛtis, although many of them give a different opinion or do not touch on this question, the father or the guardian must not sell a girl, because by selling her, he commits a sin, and the girl does not become the legal wife of the buyer.

18. In the Ārṣa-vivaha there is no doubt that the price paid for the maiden, amounting to a cow and a bull and sometimes to a cow and a bull and other goods, was not the real price of the maiden. This price being ever on the same scale and not high in comparison with the price paid according to the Āsura-vivāha could not be the real price for the girl. Therefore, it can be said, that this form of marriage is based on s h a m - p u r c h a s e.

That this form of marriage is based on sham-purchase and is not the purchase of a girl by a man is evident from the following words which we find in Mn.[1] " When the father gives away his daughter a c c o r d i n g t o t h e r u l e after receiving... a cow and a bull ". These words are understood by the commentators on Mn. as follows : " it is not with the intention of selling his child ". The commentators go farther when they say that the bridegroom shall give to him who has authority over the maiden a bull and a cow a n d r e c e i v e t h e m b a c k along with the bride[2] therefore, if the bridegroom received his "price" for the girl from this person who has authority

1. Mn. III-27.

2. Gov. *ad* B. II-11, 20, 4 in S. B. E. XIV *ad* B. II-11, 20, 4, MBh. Anuṣa 81, 1-2, XIII-46, 1-2.

over the maiden it cannot be said that the maiden was sold by this person or purchased by her future husband. The price that was given was returned probably in the form of a dowry, and, therefore, cannot be considered as a price nor the marriage, as a marriage by purchase, but only by sham-purchase.

It must also be pointed out that according to Śāṅkh. Likh. besides the gift of a cow and a bull or of a suit of clothes, ornaments and dowry have to be given[1] which can be taken as a proof that not only the commentator but also the later Smṛtis represent the point of view that this form of marriage is not a marriage by purchase but only a marriage by sham-purchase.

19. It was pointed out in the interpretation of the Āsura-vivāha that the selling of a girl was a sin. The question is whether a pair of oxen given to the father or a guardian of the girl and accepted in this form of marriage is to be regarded as the " consideration " (शुल्क) or a " sale " (विक्रय). According to Mn. III–52 it is विक्रय—a sale, because it makes no difference if the gift is small or large.[2]

But this would only be the case if the value of the girl did not exceed the value of one cow and one bull *i. e.* if it were a real marriage by purchase (Āsura-vivāha). In this connection we find in the next śloka of the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra the following sentence : " In the case of girls whose relation do not appropriate the bride's gift, it is not a " sale ". It is only a mean honouring the maidens and is entirely harmless[3] which means of that there is not the slightest taint of sin in this act.[4]

We have seen that the price given for the girl was according to Mn. and other sources of law, returned to the bride or bridogroom, therefore, his gift " is only a means of honouring the girl " but not a sale. The words " means of honouring " are interpreted by Medh. the commentator on Mn. in the following manner : " The receiving of presents on behalf of

1. Śāṅkh. Likh. (Vīr. Saṁs. p. 851).
2. identically MBh. XIII–80, 20, 21, XIII–45, 20.
3. Mn. III–54, identically MBh. Anuṣa 81, 1, 2, and XIII–46, 1, 2.
4. Medh. *ad* Mn. III-54.

brides becomes a means of honouring them ; it raises the girls in their own estimation ; they come to think that, we are so good that we are being married after receiving proper presents ;" they rise in the estimation of the people also, who look upon such brides as 'very handsomely fortunate'." [1]

20. We find the same opinion in MBh.[2] where we read "that maiden, in respect of whom nothing is taken by her kinsmen in the form of dower, cannot be said to be sold....Her sire and brother and father-in-law and husband's brother should show her every respect and adorn her with ornaments, if they be desirous of reaping benefits, for such conduct on their part always leads to considerable happiness and advantages. If the wife does not like her husband or fails to gladden him, from such dislike and absence of joy, the husband can never have issue for increasing his race." This adorning of the girl with ornaments is the dowry. So we can see in this quotation of MBh. the passage from the marriage by purchase to the marriage by sham-purchase then to the marriage in which the dowry is given to the future husband by the girl. This dowry in the "*essentiale negotii*" of the orthodox forms of marriage to which the Ārṣa-vivāha may also belong.

21. We have seen that the Smṛtis consider the Āsura-vivāha an unlawful and allowed form of marriage and even consider the sale of the daughter, *i. e.* the *essentiale negotii* of the Āsura-vivāha as a great crime. On the contrary the Smṛtis consider the Ārṣa-vivāha as a lawful form of marriage and reckon it among the orthodox forms of marriage.

Therefore, it seems to be evident that the respective rules contained in the Smṛtis—which refer to the Āsura-vivāha—are archaic and are only relics in the Smṛtis, and that the only valid form of marriage based on purchase *i. e.* on sham-purchase, was the Ārṣa-vivāha.

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1. Medh. *ad* Mn. III-54.
2. MBh. XIII-45, 2.

MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ SHAH

By M. A. Chaghatai

[The following is a translation from Arabic of a brief account of Sultan Mahammad, son of Tughluq Shah (A. H. 725–52/ A. D. 1324–1351) found in the *ad-Durar-u'l-Kāminah fi A'yāni' l-Mi' ati'th-Thāmina* by Hāfiz Ibn Hajar 'Asqalāni (d. 852 A.H./1448 A.D.) Hyderabad Dn. 1349 A.H., iii, 460-61, which does not seem to have received the attention of historians, it desrves.

Three other Arabic accounts relating to the same period have already been brought to light viz :—

(*a*) *Masāliku'l-Absār fi Mumāliki'l-Amsār* by Shihābu' d-Din al-' Umari (d. 748 A. H/1347 A. D); Dawson-Elliot, an abridgment iii, 573-85; trans. by Otto Spies, Sh. Abdur Rashid and Mo'inu 'l-Haq, *Muslim University Journal*, Aligadh, March 1943.

(*b*) *Subha'l-A'sha* by Qalqashandi (chapters on India) by Otto Spies, *Muslim University Journal*, Aligadh, June 1935. It has also been translated into Urdu by Sh.' Inayatu 'llah, *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, August 1935. Qalqashandi's account is entirely based on *Masāliku' l-Absār*.

(*c*) *Ibn Batutah's Travels in Asia and Africa* by Dr. Lee, 1829, Complete Arabic text with a French translation was published by MM. Defremery and Sanguinetti. H. A. R. Gibb translated a part of it in 1929, and republished in London, 1939.

' Asqalani 's account though brief, throws at least in some respects new light on the period and personality of the Emperor.]

Abu'l-Mujāhid[1] Muhammad *bin* (son of) Tughluq Shah *al-Hindi* (Indian by birth) the emperor of India, inherited his

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1. His *Kunyah* (patronymic name) Abu'l-Mujāhid and his proper name Muhammad Shah are clearly expressed by his court poet Badr-e-Chach in his *Qasaids*, Cawnpore, 1279 A. H. pp. 20, 93.

Ziya Barani mentions him in his *Tarihh-i-Firoz Shahi* (454) 'as-'Sultanu'l-Mujahid Abu'l - Fath Muhammad Shah b. Tughluq Shah. 'Asqalani has spelt the name Tughluq with 'ṭ' insteed of with 't'. Modern writers have already discussad his name and origin at length, *vide The Rise and Fall of Muhammad Tughluq* by Mahdi Husain, London 1938, 45–54 and *Muhammad Shah b. Tughluq* by Mawlana Abdur Rahman. *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, Nov. 1926—Feb. 1928; *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* by E. Thomas, London, 1887, 202–69.

kingdom from his father,[1] who, a Turk[2] by origin, was one of the slaves of the emperor of India, his predecessor.[3] He gradually rose to such power and position that he became emperor, and considerably extended his empire which included Sind, Makran and Ma'bar, so that the *Khutba* was read in his name in Maqdsho,[4] Sarandib[5] and the whole Islamic India. He made a large number of conquests, so much so that it was said that he had reduced nine thousand towns. He collected gold which could not come under count, by imposing a duty on these towns. He was very generous, courteous and proficient in religious learning. He knew the *Hidaya*,[6] on Hanafite jurisprudence by heart. He used to participate in the science of medicine. Once a Persian gentleman presented to him in one volume a manuscript

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1. His father is known as Abu'l-Muzaffar Ghiyathu'd-Din, the founder of the Tughluq dynasty. Formerly he was known as 'Malik Ghazi'.

2. Ibn Batutah mentions him from the Turkish stock known as 'Qaraunah' *vide Rihla Ibn Batutah* ii. 31.

3. Here perhaps the writer means Sultan Qutbu'd-Din Mubarak Khalji (A. H. 716-20/A. D. 1316-20), who had given the fief of Depalpur to Malik Ghazi before the latter became emperor under the name of Ghiyathu'd-Din Tughluq.

4. Maqdsho is one of the towns of Zanj or Zanjbar in the south of Yaman in the desert of Berber *vide Mu 'jamu ' l-Buldān* by Yāqūt, iv, 602. Ibn Batutah says—' The Sultan of Maqdsho is called 'Shaykh' and his name is Abu Bakr Shaykh Umar (*Rihla* i. 160)

5. *Sarandib*-Ceylon. ' Alāu'd-Din Khalji's conquest of the whole of the Deccan brought about the unification of the northern and southern India although much before it the Muslims from Arabia had already settled in the south through their trade activities with southern coast of India. The Arabs generally used word Ma'bar for southern India which literally means a ferry or crossing place. *The Madras Glassary* says it was so called because it was the place of crossing from Madura to Ceylon. It shows southern India maintained cordial relations with other parts of the Muslim world. The author of the *Māsalik* (*op cit* 13) remarks : " At present he (Muhammad Tughluq) has the right of *Khutba* and coinage in the whole of this country ".

6. '*al-Hidaya* i. e. *Hiday fi Furus*' by Shaikhu'l-Islam Burhanu'd-Din Ali b. Abi Bakr al-Marghinani (d. 593 A. H/1197 A. D.). According to the *Masalik* (*op cit* 37) the Sultan knew the Book of God by heart and also the *Hidaya* on the *Mazhab*-school of Abu Hanifa by heart, Barani (461) says ' He knew most of the *Sikandar Nama* by heart and was thoroughly acquainted with the *Bu Mussilam* and *Tarikh-i-Mahmudi* '.

copy of the *Shifa*[1] of Ibn Sina (Avicenna), calligraphed by Yāqūt,[2] for which he gave him a large amount in reward, amounting to more than a thousand *mithquals.*[3]

A despatch of his came to an-Nāsir[4] in a gold pen case, the weight of which was a thousand *mithqals* and which was studded with jewels, costing three thousand dinars.[5] Once he despatched to the Sultan (*i. e.* an-Nasir) a ship laden with most valuable, costly and exquisite Indian rarities. There were, among others, fourteen caskets full of ring-diamonds and other things. It so happened that his envoys who were carrying these gifts fell out and some of them killed others. The ruler of Yaman[6] coming to know of this incident, killed those remaining persons in retaliation of those whom they had murdered and thus he himself took the possession of those gifts. When this news reached an-Nāsir,[7] he felt it much. The correspondence, which followed in this matter with the ruler of Yaman, is a lengthty affair. In spite of his possessing such a vast kingdom he (Muhammad Tughluq) was impotent, due to cauterisation of his loins, necessitated by some disease in his young days. It is said that his army numbered over six hundred thousand strong, that he had seventeen hundred elephants;

1. *Shifa Fi'l-Mantiq* by Abu Ali Husain b. Abdullah known as Ibn Sina or Avicenna (d. 428 A. H./1036 A. D.). *Masālik* (41) mentions that some one came from Persia to him and presented to him philosophical books among which there was the *Shifa* of Ibn Sina. Barani (464) adds—' In the science of medicine he (emperor) used to make several experiments and suggested remedies of various diseases '.

2. Here the author of the *ad-Durar* perhaps means the well-known calligraphist Yaqut Musta'simi (d. 698 A. H/1288 A. D).

3. *Mithqal,* an Arabian weight about 73 grs.

4. Reference is to the then Sultan of Egypt, an-Nasir i. e. Nasiru'd-Din Muhammad of the Mamluk Baharite dynasty who held the reins of the kingdom on three occasions, the last one was from A. H. 709 to 741/ A. D. 1309-40.

5. *Dinar,* generally an Arabian coin. But in the Middle Ages Arabian writers generally applied this term *Dinar* both to the staple gold coin *mohur* and silver coin or silver *rupee.*

6. The Sultan of Yaman was al-Mujāhid Nuru'd-Din b. Sultan al-Muzaffar Yusuf (Ibn Batutah i. 158).

7. Reference is to the Sultan of Egypt.

and that there were in his service physicians, doctors, courteers, scholars and singers in such a large number that had never assembled in the service of any one else.

His name used to be recited in the *Khutba* from all the pulpits in the countries of his kingdom thus :—

> *as-Sultanu' l-'Alam Iskandaru' z-Zaman Khalifatu' llah fi ardhihi* (—Sultan of the world, Alexander of the Age, Viceregent of God in His earth).[1]

His death took place in A. H. 752/A. D. 1351 ".

Conclusion : Comparing the above account of Muhammad Tughluq by 'Asqalāni with those in other works we find that it adds to our knowledge in certain respects, specially as to the extent of his empire and his relations with Maqdsho and Sarandīb, where his name was recited in the *Khutba*. He had learnt the *Hidaya*, in addition to other literary works, by heart. He was much interested in the study of medicine for which he acquired a MS. of Ibn Sinā's *Shifa*, which was calligraphed by Yāqūt. He used to send presents abroad to other Muslim Sultans. Fortunately it is from 'Asqalāni that we learn that he had become impotent on account of a surgical operation ; and finally 'Asqalāni throws a good deal of a new light upon the patronage he afforded to men of letters and science.

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1. There are several verses of Badr-e-Chach (20) which contain similar epithets for Muhammad Tughluq.

HARI DĪKṢITA AND HIS WORKS

By G. H. Khare

In March 1938 issue of the *Sahyādri*, a Marathi monthly of Poona, an article by Mr. M. G. Deshamukha, M. A., of Nagpur is published wherein he maintains that the Marathi versions of the three *Śatakas* of Bhartṛhari, Bhīṣmayuddha, Jayadrathavadha, Bhīṣmaśarapañjara, Virāṭaparvan, Upadeśa mālā and some other major as well as minor poems, the composition of which is popularly ascribed to the Marathi poet Vāmana, were in reality the works of one Hari Dīkṣita (HD) of Śāṇḍilya *gotra*, whose parents were named Lakṣmī and Nṛsiṁha. His family god was Lakṣmīnṛsimha and his preceptor was Vāmana. In a subsequent issue of the same journal (June 1938), I showed, on the evidence of a *sanad* dated 27–9–1733 A. D. and other material brought to my notice by a descendent of HD, that one HD who had the same name-sakes for his parents, preceptor (?) *gotra*, and family deity was surnamed Nīlakaṇṭha and was residing at Nargunda (Dharwar) about the year 1733 A. D. when the village Kurigovanakop was granted to him as *inām* by Rāmarāva Dādājī Bhāve, the chief of Narogunda and his patron. This village is still being enjoyed by his descendents. This same HD is responsible for the authorship of the following Sanskrit works; Brahmasūtravṛtti, Mitabhāṣinī, Bālānandinī, Nṛsiṁha and Vivekamihira (two dramas). Recently Prof. C. N. Joshi from Hyderabad (Deccan) has shown, without being aware of the above facts, that this HD has also translated at least the first five chapters of the 11th book of Bhāgavata in Marathi in parallel metres. In the meanwhile I have accidently come across a MS. work called Sārasaṅgraha or Satsārasaṅgraha, the authorship of which must also be ascribed to this very HD. I am inclined to believe that both the HDs are identical.

As this HD is very little known to Sanskrit as well as Marathi scholars, I give here the necessary details of his works :

Sanskrit

(1) *Brahmasūtravṛtti* is a Sanskrit commentary on the aphorisms of Bādarāyaṇa. It was being published by instalments in the *Puruṣārtha*, a now defunct magazine of Nargunda, since Śaka 1831/1909 A. D. It has been published in complete form in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (No. 82) in Śaka 1839/1917 A. D. The editor of the *Puruṣārtha* has described it as श्रीलक्ष्मीनरहरिसूनुहरियज्वप्रणीत. The Ānandāśrama edition of this work begins with the verse,

रज्जौ सर्पवदध्यास्तं यस्मिन्मायामयं जगत् ।
नृसिंहाख्यं परं ब्रह्म भावयामि तदात्मकः ॥

and every foot has generally a colophon of the type श्रीलक्ष्मीनरहरिसूरिसूनुहरिदीक्षितकृतौ. The work ends with the following two verses.

प्रार्थितो रामरायेण तद्गुरुर्हरिदीक्षितः ।
तद्बोधार्थमिमां वृत्तिं व्यधितानुग्रहाद्धरेः ॥
८ ५ ६ १
गजेषुरसभूसंख्ये शकेऽब्दे चानलाह्वये ।
ज्येष्ठशुक्लत्रयोदश्यां ग्रन्थः सिद्धिमगादयम् ॥

These verses show that this work was written at the request of Rāmarāya (of Nargunda) and was completed on 10-6-1736 A.D. But the diary of my research tour in Karnataka in 1937 A. D. shows that Mr. Rāmarāva Desāī Akhbārnavīs of Hubli (Dharwar) possesses a MS. of this work which bears the following sentence at the end. श्रीलक्ष्मीनरहरिसूरिसूनुना हरिदीक्षितेन विरचितायां ब्रह्मसूत्रवृत्तौ......शके १६५७. Śaka 1657 may either be a scribe's error or may be representing the year in which the work was begun.

(2) *Mitabhāṣinī* is a commentary on Bhagavadgītā, and only a portion (upto 2nd chapter, 14 verses) of it has been published in *Puruṣārtha*, nos. 4–14. It begins thus:

जन्माद्यस्य प्रपंचस्य यन्मायाया विजृंभणात् ।
सच्चिदानंदमात्मानं तं नृसिंह नमाम्यहम् ॥

The colophon of the first chapter mentions the authorship as लक्ष्मीनरहरिसूनुहरिदीक्षितकृतायाम्.

(3) *Bālānandinī* is a commentary on Śivagītā and has been published by the Nirṇayasāgara press, Bombay, in Śaka 1831/ 1909 A. D. It begins with the verse :

लक्ष्मीनृसिंहचरणद्वयमादरेण
नत्वा चतुर्विधपुमर्थनिदानभूतम् ॥
भट्टोजिदीक्षितकृतिं कृतिभिर्विभाव्या-
मालोक्य बालमतये वितनोमि टीकाम् ॥

Here the author has made obeisance to both, his family deity and parents and seems to have followed Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita in the compilation of his commentary. Though the colophons of the chapters 1-5, 8-10 and 15 make no mention of the author, those of chapters 6 and 7, 11, 12, 13 and 16, and 14 run refer to mim in the following ways respectively :

श्रीलक्ष्मीनृसिंहपण्डितसूनुहरिदीक्षितकृतौ
श्रीलक्ष्मीनरहरिसूनुहरिपण्डितविरचितायां
हरिदीक्षितविरचितायां
श्रीलक्ष्मीनरहरिसूनुविरचितायां
श्रीलक्ष्मीनरहरिसूनुहरिदीक्षितकृतौ

These show that the commentary was compiled by HD, the son of Lakṣmī and Nṛsiṁha or Narahari.

(4) *Nṛsiṁha* is a drama, only two acts of which have been published in nos. 4-6 and 14 of the *Puruṣārtha.* Its introductory verse is as follows :

यद्वक्षस्यपरद्धमिन्द्रपविना यस्स्वस्सतीरलकं ।
निःसिन्दूरमुरोजगंडयुगले चापांडिमानं व्यधात् ॥
आविर्भूय नृसिंहविग्रहहरिस्तं पूर्वदेवाधिपं ।
यो व्यापादितवान् खलं स तनुयाच्छ्रेयांसि भूयांसि नः ॥ १ ॥

In this drama, Hariyajvan or HD has referred to his patron Rāmarāya Prabhu of Naragunda several times and has told us that his brother-in-law (आवुत्त) Gaṇeśa had prompted him to write the drama about his family god Nṛsiṁha.

(5) *Vivekamihira* is another drama in three acts and has been published in the first three numbers of *Puruṣārtha.* The introductory verse of this play is as follows ;

स्वस्मै सदा द्रुह्यत एव दैत्यान् हत्वा ददौ यः स्वपदं दयालुः ।
स श्रीनृसिंहः श्रितपारिजातः शिवं क्रियात्स्फारमखंडितं च ॥

It ends with a reference to the author as श्रीलक्ष्मीनरहरिसूरिसूनुना हरियज्वना प्रणीते. In the dialogue of the stage-manager and the chief actress which follows the introductory verse, it is stated that the drama written by Hariyajvan (विवेकमिहिराभिधं हरियज्वप्रणीतं नाटकं) was being staged before the learned audience assembled to celebrate the festival of Nṛsiṁha, in order that it might bring satisfaction to the audience and favour of Nṛsiṁha.

(6) *Sārasaṅgraha* or *Satsārasaṅgraha* is a brochure or handbook on *Advaita* philosophy and has not been published as yet so far as I know. It begins with the verse—

लक्ष्मीनृसिंहपदपंकजमिष्टसिद्ध्यै
नत्वा चतुर्विधपुमर्थनिदानभूतम् ।
सत्सारसंग्रहममुं विशदार्थबोधं
व्युत्पसुबालसुखदं हरिरातनोति ॥

and bears the colophon इति नरहरिपंडितसूनुहरिपंडितरचितः सारसंग्रहः समाप्तः[1] It is interesting to note that not only the second line of this verse is identical with the second line of the introductory stanza of the *Bālānandinī*, but the metre of the two verses is the same.

Marathi

(7) *Bhāvabodhinī*[2] is a versified translation in parallel metres of the eleventh book of Bhāgavata, only five chapters of which have come to light so far. In it HD informs us about himself thus in the following lines :

ग्रंथारंभीं मार्गशीर्ष । मास मन्मथ [वत्सर] ॥
नरगुंदीं वास दाता । बुद्धि लक्ष्मीनृसिंह तो ॥ १ ॥
जनक नरहरीते माय लक्ष्मी तयेते ।
[नमन] करुनि भावें बंधु गंगाधरातें ॥

1. MS no. 281 from the M. L. Joshi collection in the Bharata Itihāsa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona.

2. Maharashtra-Sahitya-Patrika no. 69, pp. 27-32.

पटुमति हरिशर्मा श्रीनृसिंह [प्रसादें] ।
करि विशद उपान्त्यस्कंध भाषाप्रबंधें ॥ १ ॥
लक्ष्मीनृसिंहचरणद्वयसारसातें ।
सर्वार्थदायक असें समजोनि चित्तें ॥
त्यातें स्मरूनि करितों समपद्ययोग ।
एकादशावरि यथामति सानुराग ॥ १ ॥

In addition to what is already known from Sanskrit works these verses inform us that the author HD was a resident of Nargunda, had an elder brother Gaṅgādhara and the translation was begun in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa and the cyclic year Manmatha coinciding with the Śaka year 1637 or 1715–16 A. D. A long gap that was being felt between HD (1733 A.D.) and his preceptor Vāmana (1673 A. D.) before the discovery of the MS. of this work, has been narrowed down now.

(8) *Bhīṣmayuddha* is a narrative poem which begins with the line लक्ष्मीनृसिंहचरणद्वयसारसाचा ॥[1] and ends with the following verse :

ताताभिधा नृहरिपंडित माय लक्ष्मी
दे सर्वदा सुगुणयुक्त उदार लक्ष्मी ।
शांडिल्य गोत्र कुलदेव नृसिंह ज्याचा
दासानुदास हरि तो सकळा द्विजाचा[2] ॥

These lines supply the same information as is deduced from Sanskrit works.

(9) *Jayadrathavadha* is identical with Bhīṣmayudddha in its end as is evident from some MSS , though the printed editions differ.[3]

(10) *Bhīṣmaśarapañjara* has the following reference to its compiler in the end.[4]

ऋषी बोलिला भूप पारिक्षितातें । कसा तुष्टला श्रीहरि दीक्षितातें ॥

(11) *Virāṭaparvan* contains several references to its author HD as simply Hari or Hari (the pupil) of Vāmana.[5]

1. Sahyadri, March 1938, p. 250.
2. Mahārāshṭsra Sārasvata 3rd edition vol. II (MS.) p. 68.
3. Ibid page 68.
4. MS. p. 68.
5. Sahyad i : March 1938, p. 252.

(12) *Ṣtray verses* have also got references to their compiler Hari or Hari (the pupil of Vāmana).[1]

(13) *Upadeśamālā* has a reference to the family god Nṛsiṁha as the prompter for the poem.

(14) *Śatakatraya* has no reference to its author in the body of the text; but has the colophon टिका॥ हरिदीक्षितकृत संपूर्णमस्तु॥ in a MS. copy of it, which supports the general opinion that the work does not appear to be of Vāmana, the view being based on the comparatively poor literary merit of its composition.

Thus it will be evident that though Hari Dīkṣita has not been mentioned in Aufrect's Catalogus Catalogorum and other catalogues, he has a place of his own in Sanskrit and Marathi literatures and I shall not be far from right, if I call him *Ubhayabhāṣā Kavi*.

1. Ibid. 2. MS. p. 65.

THE VAIDYAVINODA OF ŚAṄKARA : THE AUTHOR'S PATRON—RĀMASIṀHA OF AMBER AND HIS DATE—BETWEEN 1668 AND 1699 A. C.

By Sadashiv L. Katre, M. A., Ujjain

Aufrecht[1] records a number of MSS. of the *Vaidyavinoda*, a comprehensive medical treatise in several chapters (Ullāsas). The work has been printed at some places; Vaidyapañcānana Kṛṣṇaśāstrī Navare's edition with Marathi translation, first published in 1890 and now in fourth impression, being popular in Mahārāṣṭra.

Its author Śaṅkara was the son of one Anantabhaṭṭa and belongs to the Śrī-Gauḍa community of Northern Brāhmaṇas. He appears to be an efficient physician and alleges to have based the treatise on his own experience and also on standard old authors. Among the latter he mentions only Hārīta, Pārāśara, Kāśyapa, etc. explicitly and others implicitly or under general terms. He does not note his date, but the same can be settled within narrow limits by deciding the identity of his royal patron mentioned by him in his introduction and conclusion which respectively read as follows :—

Introduction :—

अनन्तनामा हि दिगन्तकीर्तिः श्रीगौडवंशः प्रथितप्रभावः ।
तदात्मजः शङ्करनामधेयः शास्त्रेषु काव्येषु परं प्रवीणः ॥ २ ॥
राजाधिराजो जयसिंहवीरः ख्यातः पृथिव्यां महनीयकीर्तिः ।
प्रदीपभूपालनिवारणेन प्रतापपुञ्जज्वलदग्निकल्पः ॥ ३ ॥
तदात्मजो रामसमानसारो नाम्ना चिरायुर्नृपरामसिंहः ।
रूपेण दानेन पराक्रमेण तिरस्कृतानङ्गसुरद्रुमेन्द्रः ॥ ४ ॥
...क्षेमस्य योगस्य च संविधातुस्तस्याज्ञया ग्रन्थकृतादरेण ।
ये ये प्रयोगा बहुशोऽनुभूतास्ते ते मया संलिखिता विमृश्य ॥ ६ ॥
प्रणम्य मान्यान्विनिवेदयामि ग्रन्थं मुदा पश्यत सावधानाः ।
दृष्टे यदस्मिन्परमः प्रमोदो भवेत्तथा सिद्धिरपि प्रकृष्टा ॥ ७ ॥ etc.

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1. Catalogus Catalogorum I, 613a, II, Pp. 146b, 227b, III, P. 128a.

Conclusion :—

भट्टानन्तात्मजस्येयं शङ्करस्य कृतिः सताम् ।
आनन्दयतु चित्तानि चिकित्सासिद्धिदायिनी ॥ १ ॥
श्रीमद्भूपतिरामसिंहवचनाद् ग्रन्थो मया निर्मितो
यस्मिन्रोगविनिश्चयश्च कथितः प्रोक्ता चिकित्सा क्रमात् ।
योगो वृष्यतमो रसायनविधिः संशोधनादिर्विधि-
र्बस्तिर्नावनधूमपानकवलाञ्योषादिसंज्ञा तथा ॥ २ ॥
इति श्रीमदनन्तभट्टात्मजशङ्करविरचिते वैद्यविनोदे etc.

The royal patron is named Rāmasiṁha and is described as a son of a very powerful and renowned chief named Jayasiṁha. He appears to be identical with the Cutchwah Rājā Rāma Sing (1668–99 A. C.) of Amber, son of the renowned Mirza Rājā Jai Sing (1621–1667) who had led in 1665 Aurangzeb's successful expedition, involving the classical siege of Purandhar, against Shivāji. The genealogy of this royal line is also noted in the introductory portion of Ratnākara's *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* composed in 1713 A. C. from which the pertinent verses 11 and 12 may be cited here :—

"......येन श्रीजयसिंहेन दिल्लीन्द्रपदलिप्सवः । शिवप्रभृतिभूपाला वशं नीताः स्वतेजसा ॥ तस्याग्र्यपुत्रः प्रबलः पृथुश्रीः श्रीरामसिंहोऽवनिपालपालः । कौर्मेकुलेऽभूद्विजितारिवर्गः श्रीरामपादाब्जविलग्नचित्तः ॥ etc."

As Rāmasiṁha is mentioned in the *Vaidyavinoda* as a ruling chief, the work must have been composed after 1668 A. C. in which year Rāma Sing ascended the Amber throne after Jai Sing's death in 1667, and before 1699 in which year Rāma Sing died as per Tod's narration.[1]

A commentary, too, appears[2] to have been composed on the *Vaidyavinoda* by one Rāmanātha.

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1. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vpl. II (Madras, 1880), Pp. 226 ff,
2. Aufrecht: C. C. I, Pp. 516a, 613a.

THE VEDĀNTAKAUTŪHALA OF KAMALĀKARABHAṬṬA

By K. Madhava Krishna Sarma

Kamalākarabhaṭṭa is a well-known prolific writer of the former half of the seventeenth century. Most of his works concern with topics of Dharmaśāstra. In the words of Prof. Kane "Kamalākara was a man of profound erudition and composed works on almost every Śāstra" (History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I, 432). As noted by Prof. Kane (ibid. pp. 432–33), at the end of a MS. of his Śāntiratna in the Bhau Daji Collection, it is stated that he composed the following twenty-two works, the Nirṇayasindhu having been the first :

आदौ निर्णयसिन्धुस्तु वार्तिके टिप्पणी पुनः ।
काव्यप्रकाशगा व्याख्या दाने च कमलाकरः ॥
शान्तिरत्नं ततः पूर्वव्रतयोः कमलाकरः ।
ग्रन्थो वेदान्तरत्नं च सभादर्शकुतूहलम् ॥
प्रायश्चित्ते रत्नमेकं व्यवहारे तथापरम् ।
बह्वृचाह्निकमन्यच्च गोत्रप्रवरदर्पणः ॥
रत्नं कर्मविपाकाख्यं कार्तवीर्यस्य पद्धतिः ।
सोमप्रयोगः शूद्राणां धर्मो रुद्रस्य पद्धतिः ॥
टिप्पणी च तथा शास्त्रदीपिकालोकसंज्ञिता ।
मीमांसायां तथा शास्त्रतत्त्वस्य कमलाकरः ॥
सर्वतीर्थविधिश्चैव भक्तिरत्नं तथोत्तमम् ।
रामकृष्णसुतेनैवं कमलाकरशर्मणा ॥
ह्यधिका विंशतीनां च ग्रन्थानां रत्नमालिका ।
सेवां कर्तुमशक्तेन ह्यर्पिता रामपादयोः ॥

Aufrecht in his Catalogus Catalogorum notices as many as eighty-five works under Kamalākara, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa, seventy-six in Part I, p. 80, two in Part II, p. 15, and seven in Part III, p. 18. The list given by Aufrecht does not seem to be correct. For instance, Kriyāpāda, noticed by him (I, p. 133) as "a part of some work by Kamalākara" is in all probability the work

of the astronomer Kamalākara, son of Nṛsiṁha, on one of the four sections of the Āryabhaṭīya or independently of it.

In the Anup Sanskrit Library there is a work on the Advaita Vedānta by Kamalākara. Here is a description of it.

Paper MS. 51 folia. 11″ × 5″. 9 lines in a page. 40 syllables in a line. Devanāgarī script. Old. Worn and slightly damaged. Numbered 9163. From an entry of his name on the first. page in a different hand it is known that the MS. once belonged to Dīkṣita Maṇirāma who was a great scholar in the court of Mahārāja Anup Singhji. The MS. is therefore earlier than the end of the seventeenth century, a date which is not far removed from that of the author, and which does not preclude the possibility of the MS. being a contemporary one. In the same hand the title of the work is here written as Vedāntakautūhala which is repeated in the margin of the obverse of each folio in the same hand as the body of the MS. However, in one place, *viz.* in the final colophon the name which is written as Vedāntaratna by the original hand is corrected by a later one as Vedāntakautūhala. The name Vedāntakautūhala is found in neither of the above lists of the works of Kamalākara. Is Vedāntakautūhala the same as the Vedāntaratna mentioned in the list referred to by Prof. Kane ? Aufrecht does not mention Vedāntaratna either.

At the beginning the author pays homage to Vāsudevayatīndra, his Vedāntaguru. This reference settles the date of the latter as an elder contemporary of Kamalākara. The work was written by the author for the benefit of his son Ananta.

Begins : श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

कारुण्यैकनिकेतं रामं सीतालतायुक्तम् ।
विश्वामित्रान्वयाय व्रततिसमालम्बुशाखिनं वन्दे ॥१॥

रुद्राक्षभूतिभूषाय दक्षिणामूर्तिरूपिणे ।
वासुदेवयतीन्द्राय वेदान्तगुरवे नमः ॥२॥

श्रीरामकृष्णं पितरं तथाम्बां श्रीवासुदेवेन्द्रयतिं च नत्वा ।
अनन्तसंज्ञस्य शिशोः प्रियार्थं वेदान्तसिद्धान्तमिहाभिधास्ये ॥३॥

आसादितानि प्रथमेन पुंसा दश स्वरूपाणि युगप्रभेदात् ।
एकाश्रयं रूपयुगं प्रपित्सुः श्रीरामकृष्णो भुवि विश्रुतोऽभूत् ॥४॥
तत्पादसंसेवनजातप्रभावादासाद्य हृष्यन्धिषणाविलासम् ।
तदात्मजः श्रीकमलाकराख्यः कुतूहलात्किञ्चिदिहाभिधत्ते ॥५॥

अथेह कश्चिन्नित्येनैव स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्य इत्यध्ययनविधिनाधीतसाङ्ग-स्वाध्यायस्तदर्थं जिज्ञासमानः कर्मोपासनाब्रह्मप्रतिपादकं त्रिविधं वेदराशिमालोच-यति ॥

Ends :

स तया श्रद्धया युक्तस्तस्याराधनमीहते ।
लभते च ततः कामान्मयैव विहितान्हितान् ॥ इति ॥
रामकृष्णतनूजेन कमलाकरशर्मणा ।
योऽत्र श्रमः कृतस्तेन प्रीयतां ताटकान्तकः ॥

इति श्रीमज्जगद्गुरुमीमांसकरामेश्वरभट्टसूरिसूनुनारायणभट्टसुतरामकृष्णभट्टात्मज-महामहोपाध्यायमीमांसककमलाकरभट्टकृतं वेदान्तकौतूहलं समाप्तम् ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ रामः ॥ रामकृष्ण जयेति ॥

There are references to Śāstradarpaṇa (fol. 4*a*), Bhoja-rāja (5*a*), Vivaraṇācārya (12*a*), Vācaspatimiśra (12*a*), Kalpa-taru (12*b*), Sureśvarācārya (14*b*), Bhūṣaṇakṛt (25*b*), Brahmasid-dhikāra (18*b*), and Iṣṭasiddhikāra (32*b*) among many others.

THE SAMBANDHA-NIRṆAYA
OF
GOPĀLA NYĀYA-PAÑCĀNANA

[*Crtically edited for the first time with Introduction, Index and Appendix*]

BY

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1-2. Omitted by B and C. 3. A, B omit अथ.....निर्णयः. 8. A, C drop इति, B drops सप्त. 9. B कूर्म for मत्स्य.

18. After this line A adds अशौचे फलम्. 20. Bet. वचनात् and अप्रत्तानां B inserts इत्यशौचविषयं विवाहे साप्तपौरुषम्. 21-22. V. 60.

मम गोत्रे अयं जात इयं जातेत्यज्ञाने इत्यर्थः। अतएव समानोदकत्वमभिधाय ब्रह्मपुराणम्—

ततः कालवशात्तत्र विस्मृते गोत्रनामभिः।
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गोत्राणि तत्तन्नामगोत्रभागीनीत्यर्थः। प्रवरस्तु गोत्रप्रवर्तकस्य मुनेर्व्यावर्तको मुनिगण इति प्राञ्चः। व्यावर्तकः पञ्चप्रवरभरद्वाजतस्त्रिप्रवरभरद्वाजो भिन्न इति भेदबुद्धिजनकः। क्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रा आदिपुरुषपुरोहितगोत्रप्रवरभागिनः।

यजमानस्यार्षेयान् प्रवृणीत

इत्युक्त्वा

पौराहित्यान् राजन्यविशां प्रवृणीत

इत्याश्वलायनीयात्।

शूद्राणां मासिकं कार्यं वपनं न्यायवर्तिनाम्।
वैश्यवच्छौचकल्पश्च द्विजोच्छिष्टं च भोजनम् ॥

इति मनुवचनं चकारसमुच्चितगोत्रेऽपि वैश्यधर्मातिदेशाच्च। अत्रायं विशेषः। क्षत्रियवैश्ययोरतिदिष्टगोत्रत्वं शूद्रस्यातिदिष्टातिदिष्टगोत्रत्वमिति। एतत् प्रयोजनं तु वक्ष्यते। बान्धवास्तु—

पितुः पितुः स्वसुः पुत्राः पितुर्मातुः स्वसुः सुताः।
पितुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेयाः पितृबान्धवाः ॥
मातुर्मातुः स्वसुः पुत्रा मातुः पितुः स्वसुः सुताः।
मातुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया मातृबान्धवाः ॥
आत्मपितुः स्वसुः पुत्रा आत्ममातुः स्वसुः सुताः।
आत्ममातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञया आत्मबान्धवाः ॥

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23. A modifies thus-मम गोत्रे मम मातामह गोत्रे वा अमुकाद् मुकादयं जात इत्यज्ञाने (C मम गोत्रे अमुकादयं जात इत्यज्ञाने). 25. B जन्मनामभिः for गोत्रनामभिः 31. B drops इत्यर्थः. 33. C drops भेद. 38-39. V. 140. 42. B drops तु (A च). C adds यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः [The following verses cannot be traced in Yājñavalkya]. 45-48. Omitted by B.

अथ विवाहनिर्णयः-पित्रादिकर्तृककन्योत्सर्गानन्तरं वरस्वीकारो विवाहः। स च ब्राह्मदैवार्षप्राजापत्यासुरगान्धर्वराक्षसपैशाचभेदादष्टविधः। यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः-

ब्राह्मो विवाह आहूय दीयते शक्त्यलंकृता।
पुनात्युभयतस्तज्जः पुरुषानेकविंशतिम्॥
यज्ञस्थायार्त्विजे दैव आदायार्षस्तु गोयुगम्।
चतुर्दश प्रथमजः पुनात्युत्तरजस्तु षट्॥
इत्युक्त्वा चरतां धर्मं सह या दीयतेऽर्थिने।
स कायः पावयेत्तज्जः षड् वंश्यांश्च सहात्मना॥

कः प्रजापतिस्तद्दैवतः कायः प्राजापत्य इत्यर्थः।

आसुरो द्रविणादानात् गान्धर्वः समयान्मिथः।
राक्षसो युद्धहरणात् पैशाचः कन्यकाच्छलात्॥

पित्रादिक्रमेण कन्यादानाधिकारिणमाह विष्णुः—"पिता पितामहो भ्राता सकुल्यो मातामहो मातुलो माता चेति कन्याप्रदः पूर्वाभावे प्रकृतिस्थः परः परः" इति। प्रकृतिस्थः पातित्यादिदोषरहितः। नारदः—

माता स्वभावे सर्वेषां प्रकृतौ यदि वर्तते।
तस्यामप्रकृतिस्थायां कन्यां दद्युः स्वजातयः॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः—

गम्यन्त्वभावे दातॄणां कन्या कुर्यात् स्वयंवरम्।

गम्यं सवर्णत्वादिना स्वप्रापणार्हं वरं स्वप्रदानेन पतिं कुर्यादित्यर्थः।

सकृत् प्रदीयते कन्या हरंस्तां चौरदण्डभाक्।
दत्तामपि हरेत् कन्यां श्रेयांश्चेद् वर आव्रजेत्॥

दत्तां वाग्दत्ताम्। कन्योत्सर्गे दातृग्रहीत्रोर्दिङ्मुखनिर्णयमाह रत्नाकर-धृतवचनम्।

सर्वत्र प्राङ्मुखो दाता ग्रहीता च उदङ्मुखः।
एष एव विधिर्दाने विवाहे तु व्यतिक्रमः॥

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49. A, B drop कर्तृक. 50. B drops स च. 51–56. I. 3 58–60. 57. Omitted by A. 58–59. I. 3. 61. 61. Bet. पूर्वाभावे and प्रकृतिस्थः A and B insert तु सर्वेषां. 60–62. XXIV. 38–39 (C drops इति L 63). 65. Before this line A adds इति. 66. I. 3. 64b. 68–69. I. 3. 65 (पूर्वात् for कन्यां L 70). 73. B एष दानविधिर्दृष्टः.

व्यतिक्रम इति प्रत्यङ्मुखः संप्रदाता प्रतिग्रहीता प्राङ्मुख इत्यर्थः अत्र संप्रदाता उदङ्मुखः प्रतिग्रहीता प्राङ्मुख इति विशेषादर्शिभिर्विपर्ययव्याख्यानं वक्ष्यमाणवचनाभ्यां हेयमिति । यथा पद्मपुराणम्—

प्राङ्मुखाभिरूपाय वराय शुचिसंनिधौ ।
दद्यात् प्रत्यङ्मुखः कन्यां सर्वलक्षणसंयुताम् ॥

इति । गृह्यपरिशिष्टम्—

कन्यां वरयमाणानामेष धर्मो विधीयते ।
प्रत्यङ्मुखा वरयन्ति प्रतिगृह्णन्ति प्राङ्मुखाः ॥

इति । वरयन्ति गोत्रप्रवराभिधानपूर्वकं ददति गृह्णन्तीति श्रवणात् । यत्तु—

उपविष्टस्त्रिनेत्रस्तु प्राचीं दिशमपश्यत ।
सप्तर्षिसेवितामाशां शैलेन्द्रोऽप्यवलोकयन् ॥

इति यत् कालिकापुराणवचनं तच्छिवसंप्रदायेऽन्यमुखनिषेधात् तत्परम् । सप्तर्षिसेवितामाशां उत्तरां दिशम् । शिवसंप्रदायेऽन्यमुखनिषेधमाह लिङ्गपुराणम्—

न प्राचीमग्रतः शम्भोर्नोदीचीं शक्तिसंस्थिताम् ।
न प्रतीचीं यतः पृष्ठमतो दक्षं समाश्रयेत ॥

इति । मत्स्यपुराणम्—

तुलापुरुषदाने च तथा च हाटकाचले ।
कन्यादाने तथोत्सर्गे कीर्तयेत् प्रवरादिकम् ॥

इति । कन्योत्सर्गवाक्यक्रममाह ऋष्यशृङ्गः—

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74. B reads thus–इति प्राङ्मुखः संप्रदाता प्रहीता उदङ्मुख इत्यर्थः 75. C drops अत्र, दर्शिनां for दर्शिभिः, inserts पद bet. विपर्यय & व्याख्यानं.

76. C drops यथा. 78. A क्षणेन क्षणसंयुता (B क्षणे लक्षणसंयुते) for सर्व ...संयुतां. 79. B drops इति. 82. A, B drop इति. C omits वरयन्ति... श्रवणात्. 83. B शाक्रीं for प्राचीं. 84. C अवलोकयेदिति for अवलोकयन्. 85. For तच्छिव...मुख C reads तच्छिवस्यान्यमुखसंप्रदाननिषेधात् विरुद्धम् । अन्यमुखसंप्रदान B अन्यमुखत्वसंभवादविरुद्धं for अन्यमुखनिषेधात्, omits तत्परम्. 84–85. Bet. these lines A inserts–न स्त्रीमृततनुधीमान् देशिको ह्युत्तरामुखः, हिमाद्रिः संयतात्मा च प्राङ्मुखाय प्रसन्नधीः । दद्याच्छिवाय गौरीं तु कुशपुण्यतिलोदकैः ॥

86–88. Omitted by B. 89. B drops इति. Bet. इति and मत्स्य C inserts वरयन्ति गोत्रप्रवराभिधानपूर्वकं ददति प्रतिगृह्णन्तीति श्रवणात्. 90. B तथैव for तथा च. 92. C drops इति, A drops क्रम. B omits इति कन्योत्सर्गवाक्य.

वरगोत्रं समुच्चार्य प्रपितामहपूर्वकम् ।
नाम संकीर्तयेद्विद्वान् कन्यायाश्चैवमेव हि ॥

तथा परिशिष्टीयम्—

नान्दीमुखे विवाहे च प्रपितामहपूर्वकम् ।
वाक्यमुच्चारयेद्विद्वान् अन्यत्र पितृपूर्वकम् ।
एतदेव द्विरुच्चार्य कन्यां दद्याद् यथाविधि ॥

नान्दी समृद्धिः । नान्दीमुखे पुत्रादिसमृद्धिनामादिरूपे विवाहे चतुर्थे न तु नान्दीमुखे श्राद्ध इति । "असावेतत् ते यजमानस्य पित्रे, असावेतत् ते यजमानस्य पितामहाय, असावेतत् ते यजमानस्य प्रपितामहाय" इति श्रुतिविरोधात् शिष्टैरपि तथाचरितत्वाच्च । विवाहादिसंस्कारकर्मणि सौरेणैव वाक्यम् ।

तिथिकृत्ये तु कृष्णादिं व्रते शुक्लादिमेव च
विवाहादौ च सौरादिं मासं कृत्ये विनिर्दिशेत् ॥

इति ब्रह्मपुराणादिति स्मार्ताः । आचार्यचूडामणिस्तु सर्वत्र गौणमुख्यभेदेन चान्द्रेनैव वाक्यम् ।

माङ्गल्येषु विवाहेषु कन्यासंवरणेषु च ।
दशमासाः प्रशस्यन्ते चैत्रपौषविवर्जिताः ॥

इति ज्योतिर्वचनैकवाक्यत्वाद् विवाहादौ च सौरादिमिति निषेधपरमित्याह । का विवाह्येत्याह मनुः—

असपिण्डा च या मातुरसगोत्रा च या पितुः ।
सा प्रशस्ता द्विजातीनां दारकर्मणि मैथुने ॥

अस्यार्थः—मातुर्मातामहस्य सपिण्डा सगोत्रा च या न भवति, पितुर्जनकस्य सपिण्डा सगोत्रा च या न भवति सा दारकर्मणि भार्यात्वसंपादके कर्मणि विवाहे, मैथुने मिथुनसाध्ये अग्न्याधानादौ पुत्रोत्पत्तौ च सा प्रशस्ता इत्यर्थः । तथा च श्रुतिः—

दम्पती क्षौमवसनावग्निमादधीयाताम्

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99. B drops नान्दीमुखे in both places. For पुत्रादि...न तु B, C read पुत्रादिसमृद्धिप्राधान्ये विवाहत्यर्थः. 100. B drops श्राद्धे. B, C drop असावेतत् ते after पित्रे. 101. B drops असावेतत् ते. C drops श्रुति. 109. A B वचनैकतया for वचनैकवाक्यत्वात्. A inserts वचनं bet. इति & निषेध For विवाहादौ...त्याह B reads विवाहे तु सौरादिमित्येतन्निषेधपरमित्याहुः (A निषिद्धमासपरमित्याह for वि...ह).

111–112. III. 5. 115. For अग्न्याधानादौ पुत्रोत्पत्तौ च A B read पुत्रोत्पादे (B पुत्रजन्मनि) अग्न्याधाने च. 117. C adds तौ before this line.

इति। उभयत्रासपिण्डासगोत्रत्वमनुक्तसमुच्चयचकारभेदाल्लब्धम्। अत्र तु मातुर्विवाहे तत् पितृकुले सपिण्डतानिवृत्तेः पितुः सपिण्डत्वेनैव तत्सपिण्डसिद्ध- र्मातुरिति पृथगुपादानं व्यर्थं स्यादिति मातृपदेन मातामहलक्षणोच्यते। मातृसगोत्रपदेन मातामहसमानोदका निषिध्यते। यथा—

सगोत्रां मातुरप्येके नेच्छन्त्युद्वाहकर्मणि।
जन्मनाम्नोरविज्ञानेऽप्युद्वहेदविशङ्कितः॥

इति व्यासेन पूर्वार्द्धेन पूर्वपक्षयित्वा उत्तरार्धेन सिद्धान्तितत्वात्। असगोत्रा इत्यनेनैव सपिण्डनिषेधसिद्धेर्यदसपिण्डा इति पृथगुपादानं तत् सपिण्डसंततेः सप्तमीपञ्चमीपर्यन्ताया निषेधार्थम्। तथा च परिहृत्य इत्यनुवृत्तौ विष्णुपुराणम्—

सप्तमीं पितृपक्षाच्च मातृपक्षाच्च पञ्चमीम्।
उद्वहेत द्विजो भार्या न्यायेन विधिना नृप॥

अत्र सन्ततिगणने तु पितृसपिण्डानां मातृसपिण्डानां च प्रत्येकेन सप्तम-पञ्चमान्तर्भावः। यथा स्मृतिः —

सन्तानो भिद्यते यस्मात् पूर्वजादुभयत्र तु।
तमादायगणेद्धीमान् वरं यावच्च कन्यकाम्॥

इति। अस्यार्थः—यस्मात् पूर्वजात् सन्तानो भिद्यते तं गृहीत्वा उभयपक्षे वरमुद्दिश्य कन्यकां गणयेत्। सप्तमीं पञ्चमीं परिहृत्येतिशेषः। उद्वहेदित्यनुवृत्तौ याज्ञवल्क्यः —

अनन्यपूर्विकां कान्तामसपिण्डां यवीयसीम्॥
अरोगिणीं भ्रातृमतीमसमानार्षगोत्रजाम्।
पञ्चमात् सप्तमादूर्द्धं मातृतः पितृतः क्रमात्॥

अनन्यपूर्विकां अन्येन परिगृहीतोपभुक्ता वा तद्भिन्नां, कान्तां मनोज्ञां, यवीयसीं कनिष्ठां, अरोगिणीं पातित्यादिदोषजनकरोगरहितां, भ्रातृमतीं गुप्त-पुत्रिकाशङ्काशून्याम्। यथा मनुः—

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118. C उभयत्रासपिण्डत्व for उभ...सगोत्रत्वं, drops तु. 119. C drops पितृकुले. 120. C drops पृथक् and स्यादिति, reads अतो bet. व्यर्थं and मातामहे. 121. B drops निषिध्यते. 124. Bet. सिद्धान्तितत्वात् and असगोत्रा C inserts अत्र. 125. C सपिण्डनिषेधस्य सिद्धत्वात् for सपिण्ड...सिद्धेः. 126. A adds प्रत्येकेन before this line. B inserts इति bet. निषेधार्थं and तथा.

136. I. 3. 526. 137–38. I. 3. 53 (तथा for क्रमात्). 138. B, C तथा for क्रमात्. 139. Before this line B adds अस्यार्थः. C परैः for अन्येन, drops परि. 140. A, C पातित्य for पातित्यादि. A drops जनक. C drops रोग.

यस्यास्तु न भवेद् भ्राता न विज्ञायेत वा पिता ।
नोपयच्छेत तां प्राज्ञः पुत्रिकाधर्मशङ्कया ॥

असमानार्षगोत्रजां असमानप्रवरां असमानगोत्रजामिति प्रत्येकेन नञ्संबन्धः

न समानगोत्रां न समानप्रवरां भार्या विन्देत ।

इत्यादिविष्णुवचनैकवाक्यत्वात् । शूद्रस्य समानगोत्रप्रवरा न निषिद्धेत्याह मनुः—

समानगोत्रप्रवरां शूद्रामूढ्वा न दोषभाक् ।
शुद्रः स्याच्छूद्रजातौ तु सापिण्ड्ये दोषभाग्भवेत् ॥

स्मार्तास्तु--उपदिष्टातिदिष्टगोत्रस्य निषेधो नातिदिष्टातिदिष्टशूद्रगोत्रादेरिति लिखित्वा सपिण्डसमानोदकता शुद्रेऽप्यविशिष्टेत्याहुः । मातृतो मातामहसपिण्डात् मातृबन्धुतश्च पितृतः पितृसपिण्डात् पितृबन्धुतश्च पञ्चमात् सप्तमादूर्ध्वं उद्वहेदित्यन्वयः । ननु गोत्रनिषेधे प्रवरनिषेधो भविष्यति, कथं पृथङ्निषेध इति चेन्न; गोत्रभेदेऽपि प्रवरैक्यदर्शनात् । यथा वात्स्यसावर्ण्ययोरौर्वच्यवनभार्गवजामदग्न्याप्नुवत् प्रवराः । एकगोत्रेऽपि प्रवरान्यत्वं, यथा घृतकौशिकगोत्रस्य कुशिककौशिकघृतकौशिकाः कौशिककुशिकबन्धुलाश्चेति अतो द्वयोर्निषेधः । समानप्रवरता तु तत्रैव यत्र संख्यासंज्ञयोरभिन्नत्वम् । एतयोर्विवाहे प्रायश्चित्तमाह मनुः—

परिणीय सगोत्रां च समानप्रवरां तथा ।
त्यागं कृत्वा ततस्तस्यास्ततश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥

पैठीनसिः—"असमानार्षेयीं कन्यां वरयेत् । पञ्च मातृतः परिहरेत्, सप्त पितृतः, त्रीन् मातृतः, पञ्च पितृतो वेति ।" त्रीन् पञ्च वेति आसुरादिविवाहविषयं क्षत्रियादिविवाहविषयं वेति शूलपाणिः । अधिकदोषार्थमिति स्मार्ताः । बन्धुनिषेधे नारदः—

142–43. III. 11. 146. The entire passage अत्र सन्ततिगणने तु... वचनैकवाक्यत्वात् (from L 129–L 146) is omitted here by B and C which insert it bet. आहुः and मातृतः (L 151). 148–49. Cannot be traced in the Nirṇayasāgara Press Ed. of the Manu-Samhitā. 149. B शुद्धिः for शूद्रः. A adds इति after this line. 150. B, C omit शूद्र. 151. A, C omit सपिण्ड. C इत्युक्तं for इत्याहुः.

153. C inserts इति bet. भविष्यति & कथं. 155. A inserts इति bet. प्रवराः & एक. 157. C omits तत्रैव...भिन्नत्वं. 158–59. Cannot be traced in the N. S. Press Ed. of the Manu-Samhitā. 159. A वरः for second ततः. 160. B drops कन्यां. A drops परिहरेत्. 161. A inserts परिहरेत् bet. पितृतः and त्रीन् C omits त्रीन् पञ्चवेति. 162. A अधिकार्थं for °दोषार्थं C inserts त्रीन् पञ्चवेति bet. शूलपाणिः and अधिकं.

आसप्तमात् पञ्चमाच्च बन्धुभ्यः पितृमातृतः ।
अविवाह्या सगोत्रा च समानप्रवरा तथा ॥

मातृतः पितृतो बन्धुभ्य इति पञ्चमीविभक्तिर्विनिगमकाभावात् पूर्वापरावधिकार्थेति स्मार्ताः । पूर्वावधिकार्थिकेत्यनेनैवोपपत्तौ निष्प्रयोजनिका परावधिकार्थिकेति सुधीभिर्भाव्यम् । अत्र यत् प्रतियोगिकसन्तानभेदस्तत् त्रिगोत्रान्तरितायाः सप्तमपञ्चमान्तर्गताया अपि विवाह्यत्वमाह आदिपुराणवचनम्—

सन्निकर्षेऽपि कर्तव्यं त्रिगोत्रात् परतो यदि ।

सन्निकर्षेऽपि सप्तमपञ्चमान्तर्गतत्वेऽपि इत्यर्थः । बृहन्मनुरपि—

असम्बन्धा भवेद् या तु पिण्डेनैवोदकेन वा ।
सा विवाह्या द्विजातीनां त्रिगोत्रान्तरिता च या ॥

अत्र त्रिगोत्रान्तरितत्वं यत्प्रतियोगिकसन्तानभेदस्तद्गोत्रमादाय बोद्धव्यम् । न च तद्गोत्रं परित्यज्य त्रिगोत्रगणनमिति वाच्यम् । तथात्वे मातामहपक्षे प्रतिप्रसवो व्यर्थः स्यात् । पञ्चम्या अत्रिगोत्रान्तरितत्वात् षष्ठ्याश्च प्रतिप्रसवाभावेऽप्यनिषिद्धत्वादिति । अत्र पितुर्मातुश्च मातुलपुत्रेतरबन्धूनां तन्मातृव्यतिरिक्तपूर्वेषां वर्जने तन्मातामहादिपुरुषपरंपराणां ग्रहणं न तु तत् पितृप्रभृतीनां संबन्धवीजित्वायोगादिति । नन्वेवं मातामह्यादि पितामह्यादिस्त्रीपरंपराणां कथं ग्रहणमिति चेत् सत्यम् । "आसप्तमात् पञ्चमाच्च बन्धुभ्यः पितृमातृत" इति नारदवचने उपदिष्टबन्धुमातृव्यतिरिक्तविधेयविशेषणत्वेन पुंस्त्वस्य विवक्षितत्वादिति । बन्धुमुद्दिश्य सप्तमपञ्चमत्वं विधेयं तद्विशेषणं पुंस्त्वमिति बोध्यम् । आचार्यचूडामण्यादयोऽप्येवमाहुः । अत्र सप्तमपञ्चममध्ये पुरुषाणां पुरुषान्तरेण विवाह्यत्वाप्रसक्तेस्तत्परंपराजातायाः सप्तमपञ्चमान्तर्वर्तिन्याः कन्याया अत्रिगोत्रान्तरिताया अविवाह्यत्वं ज्ञेयम् । तथा च पूर्वोक्तविष्णुपुराणवचनेऽपि पितृमातृपदं तद्बन्धूपादानं तन्मातरं

166. B modifies thus :—पितृमातृतः पितृमातृबन्धुतः इति । पञ्चमीविभक्तिर्विनिगमकाभावात् । तन्न. 167. B drops स्मार्ताः For पूर्वा...परावधिकार्थिकेति A, C read पूर्वापरावधिकार्थेत्येकेनैवोपपत्तौ निषेधप्रयोजनिका परावधिकार्थेति (C अनेनैव for एकेनैव, drops निषेध, reads निष्प्रयोजनिका for प्रयोजनिका). 169. B drops आदि. 171. B omits सन्निकर्षेऽपि...इत्यर्थः. For this portion C reads सन्निकर्षेति तद्गोत्रमादायेति बोध्यम्. 174. Omitted by C. 176. B त्रिगोत्रान्तर्वर्त्तित्वात्. 177. B, C omit पितुर्मातुश्च. 178. B, C drop तत् in तन्मातामहादि. 179. A omits मातामह्यादि. C omits पितामह्यादि. 182. C drops इति and reads instead अत्र, also drops पञ्चमत्वं. 185. B भाव्यं (C ध्येयं) for बोध्यं. B adds इति to this line. B drops पुराण. Bet तद्बन्धूपादानं (B, C तद्बन्धुलक्षणपरमिति ध्येयं) and तन्मातरं C inserts अत्र यद्यपि पितामहस्वसृपुत्रस्य बन्धोर्येमातामहाद्याः पञ्चपुरुषास्ते वरस्य' पितृसपिण्डत्वेन निषिद्धास्तथापि तद्बन्धूपादानं.

तं च प्रत्येकमादाय परतः सप्तमी निषेधार्थम्। यद्यपि पितुर्मातृस्वसृपुत्रस्य बन्धोर्ये मातामहाद्याः पञ्चपुरुषास्ते पितुर्मातुलपुत्रस्य बन्धोः पितामहाद्या एव अतस्तयोरन्यतरस्य बन्धुसंज्ञयैव एषां निषेधः सिध्यति तथापि द्वयोर्बन्धुत्वेनोपादानं तन्मातरं तं च तत्पितरं च वा प्रत्येकमादायाधस्तनसप्तमीनिषेधार्थम्। एवं मातृबन्धूनामप्यूहेन भाव्यम्। अत्र बन्धुद्वयोरूर्ध्वतने व्यर्थतामुद्भाव्य बन्धुमादायाधस्तनमात्रे प्रयोजनं यच्छूलपाण्यादिभिर्लिखितं तदतीव मन्दम्। बन्धोः पितुर्मातुः सन्तानभेदप्रतियोगित्वाभावात् कथं व्यर्थता स्यादिति सुधीभिर्भाव्यम्। यद्यपि वरस्य पितृबन्धूनां मातृबन्धूनां चाधस्तनसप्तमपञ्चमपुरुषादूर्ध्वं कन्याया विवाहो न संभवति, प्रायेण वरस्य तावत्कालानवस्थायित्वात्, तथापि पितृमातृबन्धुभ्यश्च सप्तमीपञ्चमीपर्यन्ताया यस्य यः पितृमातृबन्धुस्तस्य तत्सन्ततेर्विवाहाभावप्रतिपादनार्थं वचनमिति शूलपाणिलिखनम्। तन्निर्युक्तिकमिति भ्रान्तैरुक्तं उभयत्र बन्धुत्वसंभवात्। तथा हि यत् पौत्रस्य यो बन्धुस्तत्पुत्रस्य तत्पुत्रो बन्धुरिति व्याप्त्यवगमादुभयत्र बन्धुसंततेः संभवान्निषेध इति सयुक्तिकमिति भाव्यम्। ननु यस्य बन्धुसंज्ञाकृता स नास्ति यस्य न कृता सोऽस्ति तदोर्ध्वतने निषेधो न स्यादिति चेत् सत्यं, योग्यतामवलम्ब्य निषेधो भविष्यति; अन्यथा द्वयोर्बन्धुत्वे तयोरभावे तदूर्ध्वतने निषेधो न स्यादिति चेन्न। एकस्या विवाह्यत्वाविवाह्यत्वे त्याज्यात्याज्यत्वापत्तेः। तथा हि पितुः प्रमातामहप्रपौत्रो पितुर्मातृभगिनीपुत्रपितृमातुलपुत्रयोर्बन्धोरसत्त्वे तु विवाह्या स्यात्, तयोः सत्त्वेत्वविवाह्या स्यादिति विवाहानन्तरं तयोरन्यतरानुत्पत्तावत्याज्या स्यात्। उत्पत्तौ तु त्याज्येति। तथा च

186. C परतन for परतः. 187. C ते बन्धोः for पञ्चपुरुषास्ते, drops बन्धोः. 188. C संभवति for सिध्यति. C तयोः for द्वयोः. 190. C ऊह्यं for ऊहेन भाव्यं. 191. A inserts चान्यतरस्य bet. मातुः and सन्तान. 192. B omits सुधीभिर्भाव्यं C omits पितृबन्धूनां. 193. C omits मातृबन्धूनां. B, C पञ्चमादूर्ध्वं for पञ्चमपुरुषादूर्ध्वं A inserts प्रयोजनं (B प्रायो) bet. विवाह and न. 196. A inserts तदयुक्तं bet. उक्तं and उभयत्र. C बन्धुसद्भावात् for बन्धुत्वसंभवात् A drops यो. 198. Bet. इति and व्याप्त्यवगमात् A inserts पौत्रदौहित्रान्यतरप्रतियोगिकबन्धुर्यो भवति तत्पुत्रप्रतियोगिकबन्धुस्तत्-पुत्रो भवतीति। Bet. उभयत्र and बन्धु° (omitted by B) B inserts बन्धुत्वमिति. B omits संभवात्...भाव्यं. C इत्येव for संभवान्निषेध इति, वाक्यं for इति भाव्यं. 200. A drops चेत्, inserts तत् bet. सत्यं and योग्यता. 201. B inserts भवन्मते bet. ऊर्ध्वतने and निषेधः. 202–203 For पितुः (L 202)...स्यादिति (L 203) B, C read पितामही-भगिनीपुत्रभ्रातृपुत्रबन्धोरन्यतरसत्त्वे (C °भ्रातृपुत्रात्मकबान्धवे अन्यतरसंबन्धे हि) अविवाह्या स्यात् तस्मात् तयोरसत्त्वे तु विवाह्येति (B drops स्यात् तस्मात् तु).

शिष्टाचारविरोध इति योग्यतावलम्बने तु बन्धुसत्त्वासत्त्वेऽपि न विवाह इति निर्णयकृद्भिर्निर्णीतं बन्ध्वन्तरेऽपि भाव्यम्। अथ व्यवस्थानिर्णयः। तत्रेयं परिभाषा—

अकारं पुरुषं कृत्वा तथाकारं स्त्रियं बुधः।
दत्वा सव्यापसव्ये च गणयेद् वरकन्यके ॥

पितृसगोत्रासमानप्रवरा चाविवाह्या। पितृतत्पितृपितामहप्रपितामहवृद्धप्रपितामहातिवृद्धप्रपितामहात्यतिवृद्धप्रपितामहानां प्रत्येकसंततिः सप्तमीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाह्या। एवं पितामहभगिनीपुत्रतन्मातृमातामहप्रमातामहवृद्धप्रमातामहातिवृद्धप्रमातामहात्यतिवृद्धप्रमातामहानां प्रत्येकसंततिः सप्तमीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाह्या। एवं पितामहीभगिनीपुत्रतन्मातृमातामहप्रमातामहवृद्धप्रमातामहातिवृद्धप्रमातामहात्यतिवृद्धप्रमातामहानां प्रत्येकसंततिः सप्तमीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाह्या। एवं पितामहीभ्रातृपुत्रतत्पितृपितामहप्रपितामहातिवृद्धप्रपितामहात्यतिवृद्धप्रपितामहानां संततिः सप्तमीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाह्या। तद्वन्मातामहसमानोदका नोद्वाह्या। मातामहप्रमातामहवृद्धप्रमातामहातिवृद्धप्रमातामहात्यतिवृद्धप्रमातामहानां प्रत्येकसंततिः पञ्चमीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाह्या। एवं मातामहभगिनीपुत्रतन्मातृमातामहप्रमातामहवृद्धप्रमातामहानां पञ्चमीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाह्या। मातामहीभगिनीपुत्रतन्मातृमातामहप्रमातामहवृद्धप्रमातामहानां प्रत्येकसंततिः पञ्चमीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाह्या। एवं मातामहीभ्रातृपुत्रतत्पितृपितामहप्रपितामहवृद्धप्रपितामहानां प्रत्येकसंततिः पञ्चमीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाह्या। सर्वेषां सप्तमपञ्चमान्तर्गता त्रिगोत्रान्तरिता विवाह्या।

सप्तमे पञ्चमे चैव येषां वैवाहिकी क्रिया।
ते च संतानिनः सर्वे पतिताः शूद्रतां गताः ॥

206. C omits निर्णय...निर्णीतं and reads एवं instead. Bet. भाव्यं and अथ (A अत्र) A inserts ननु पितुः पितुः स्वसुः पुत्रा इत्यादौ पुंस्त्वस्य विवक्षया पुत्र्या अपि बन्धुत्वं स्यात् तथा च कन्यासत्त्वे योग्यतावलम्बनं न स्यात् द्वयोरसत्त्वेऽन्यतरस्य योग्यतावलम्बनमिति चेन्नैवं यथा पुत्रसत्त्वे तमादायसप्तमीनिषेधस्तथापि कन्यासत्त्वेऽपि तामादाय निषेधः स्यादिति चेत्तदयुक्तं, तदूर्ध्वतने बन्धुमात्रादिप्रवेशो व्यर्थः स्यादिति भाव्यम्। 211. A, C omit अतिवृद्धप्रपितामह. 212. Bet. मातृ and मातामह C inserts तत्. 214. A, C omit अतिवृद्धप्रमातामह. 216. A, C omit अतिवृद्धप्रपितामह. 217. B अथ मातामह for तद्वन्माता. B अविवाह्या for नोद्वाह्या. 217–218. A मातामहादि अत्यतिवृद्धप्रमातामहानां For मातामह (L 217)....प्रमातामहानां (L 218). 219. Omitted by A. 222. B, C omit प्रत्येक. 221. B drops एवं. 222. B omits प्रत्येक. C transposes सप्तमपञ्चम. B, C अत्रिगोत्रान्तरिता for त्रिगोत्रान्तरिता. 223. B नोद्वाह्या (C अविवाह्या) for विवाह्या.

इति नारदवचनं त्रिगोत्रान्तरिताव्यतिरिक्तविषयम् । शूद्रस्य सगोत्रा समानप्रवरा च विवाह्या । अथ पितृबन्धुसन्निपातव्यवस्थानिर्णयः । एकतः पितृतत्पितृपितामहप्रपितामहवृद्धप्रपितामहातिवृद्धप्रपितामहात्यतिवृद्धप्रपितामहाः; अन्यतोऽपुत्रा पितामहभगिनी अस्ति । तदा तत्पुत्रयोग्यतामवलम्ब्य ऊर्ध्वतनषण्णां प्रत्येकसंततिः सप्तमीपर्यन्ताऽत्रिगोत्रान्तरिता नोद्वाह्या । यदि पितामहभगिन्यपि नास्ति तदा न तयोर्योग्यतावलम्बनम् । बन्धुमातामहादीनां पितृसपिण्डत्वेनैव निषेधः । एकतः पितृपितामहीतत्पितृपितामहप्रपितामहवृद्धप्रपितामहातिवृद्धप्रपितामहाः; अन्यतोऽपुत्रा पितामहीभगिनी, तदा तत्पुत्रयोग्यतामवलम्ब्य तमादाय ऊर्ध्वतनषण्णां प्रत्येकसंततिः सप्तमीपर्यन्ताऽत्रिगोत्रान्तरिता नोद्वाह्या । यदा तु पितामहीभगिन्यपि नास्ति तदा द्वयोर्योग्यतामवलम्ब्य बन्धुमातामहादीनां पञ्चानां प्रत्येकसंततिः सप्तमीपर्यन्ता अत्रिगोत्रान्तरिता नोद्वाह्या । एकतः पितृपितामहीतत्पितृपितामहप्रपितामहवृद्धप्रपितामहातिवृद्धप्रपितामहाः; अन्यतोऽपुत्रः पितामहीभ्राता, तदा तत्पुत्रयोग्यतामवलम्ब्य पितामहीभ्रातृतत्पितृपितामहप्रपितामहवृद्धप्रपितामहानां प्रत्येकसंततिः सप्तमीपर्यन्ताऽत्रिगोत्रान्तरिता नोद्वाह्या । यदा तु पितामहीभ्रातापि नास्ति तदा द्वयोर्योग्यतामवलम्ब्य बन्धुपितामहादीनां पञ्चानां संततिः सप्तमीपर्यन्ता अत्रिगोत्रान्तरिता नोद्वाह्येति । अथ मातृबन्धुसन्निपातव्यवस्थानिर्णयः । एकतो मातृमातामहीतत्पितृपितामहप्रपितामहाः; अन्यतोऽपुत्रामातामहीभगिनी, तदा तत्पुत्रयोग्यतामवलम्ब्य तन्मातृमातामहप्रमातामहवृद्धप्रमातामहानां प्रत्येकसंततिः पञ्चमीपर्यन्ताऽत्रिगोत्रान्तरिता नोद्वाह्या । यदा तु मातामहीभगिन्यपि नास्ति तदा द्वयोर्योग्यतामवलम्ब्य बन्धुमातामहप्रमातामहवृद्धप्रमातामहानां प्रत्येकसंततिः पञ्चमीपर्यन्ताऽत्रिगोत्रान्तरिता नोद्वाह्या । एकतो मातृमातामहप्रमातामहवृद्धप्रमाता-

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226. B, C omit शूद्रस्य......च. 227. B, C omit विवाह्या. B drops तत् in तत्पितृ. 229. B, C drop अस्ति. 229–30. For ऊर्ध्वतन ......नोद्वाह्या B, C read तामादायसप्तमीपर्यन्ताऽत्रिगोत्रान्तरिता अविवाह्या. 231. A द्वयोः for तयोः. A, B निषिद्धत्वादिति for निषेधः. 233. C [illegible]ादाय for अवलम्ब्य C omits तमादाय. 234. B अविवाह्या for नोद्वाह्या. 235. B, C drop प्रत्येक. 236. B अविवाह्येति for नोद्वाह्या. 237. C omits तदा तत्पुत्र. 238. For पितामही...प्रत्येक B, C read बन्धुपितामहादीनां पञ्चानां (B drops पञ्चानां). 239. B अविवाह्येति for नोद्वाह्या. 239–40. यदा तु...सप्तमीपर्यन्ता...Omitted by B. 240. C तत्पुत्र for द्वयोः :

241. B omits अत्रिगोत्रान्तरिता नोद्वाह्येति (C अविवाह्या इति) C omits अथ...निर्णयः B omits व्यवस्थानिर्णयः. 242. B drops मातृ. 243. B बन्धु for तन्मातृ B, C omit प्रत्येक. 244. C omits अत्रिगोत्रान्तरिता. 245. A तयोः for द्वयोः B, C omit प्रत्येक.

महातिवृद्धप्रमातामहाः; अन्यतोऽपुत्रा मातामहभगिनी, तदा तत्पुत्रयोग्यतामवलम्ब्य तमादायपञ्चमीपर्यन्ता संततिरत्रिगोत्रान्तरिता नोद्वाह्या । यदा तु मातामहभगिन्यपि नास्ति तदा न तयोर्योग्यतावलम्बनं; मातामहसपिण्डत्वेनैव बन्धुमातामहप्रमातामहवृद्धप्रमातामहातिवृद्धप्रमातामहात्यतिवृद्धप्रमातामहानां पञ्चमीपर्यन्तायाः निषिद्धत्वादिति । एकतो मातृमातामहीतत्पितृपितामहाः, अन्यतोऽपुत्रो मातामहीभ्राता, तदा तत्पुत्रयोग्यतामवलम्ब्य बन्धुपितृपितामहप्रपितामहवृद्धप्रपितामहानां प्रत्येकसंततिः पञ्चमीपर्यन्ताऽत्रिगोत्रान्तरिता नोद्वाह्या । यदा तु मातामहीभ्रातापि नास्ति तदा द्वयोर्योग्यतामवलम्ब्य बन्धुपितृपितामहप्रपितामहवृद्धप्रपितामहानां प्रत्येकसंततिः पञ्चमीपर्यन्ताऽत्रिगोत्रान्तरिता नोद्वाह्या । अथ मातृसपत्नी भ्रातृदौहित्रीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाह्या, अध्यापयितुः कन्या च । यथा सुमन्तुः— "सर्वाः पितृपत्न्यो मातरस्तद्भ्रातरो मातुलास्तद्दुहितरो भगिन्यस्तदपत्यानि भागिनेयानि ताश्चाविवाह्याः, अन्यथा संकरकारिण्यस्तथा अध्यापयितुरेतदेव ।" अन्यथा एताः कन्यकाः परिणीताः संकरकारिण्यः, संकरात्मकाधर्मकारिण्यो भवन्तीत्यर्थः । अध्यापयितुर्गुरोस्तथा कन्योद्वाहिता एतदेव संकरात्मकाधर्मकारित्वं भजन्त एवेत्यर्थः । मातृनाम्नी कन्या नोद्वाह्या; यथा मत्स्यसूक्तम्—

मातुर्यन्नाम गुह्यं स्यात् सुप्रसिद्धमथापि वा ।
तन्नाम्नी या भवेत् कन्या मातृनाम्नी प्रचक्ष्यते ॥
प्रमादाद् यदि गृह्णीयात् प्रायश्चित्तं समाचरेत् ।
ततश्चान्द्रायणं कृत्वा तां कन्यां परिवर्जयेत् ॥
त्रिविवाहं कृतं येन न करोति चतुर्थकम् ।
कुलानि पातयेत् सप्तभ्रूणहत्याव्रतं चरेत् ॥

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247. A मातामही for °मह. 248. B मातामहप्रमातामहवृद्धप्रमातामहातिवृद्धप्रमातामहानां संततिः for तमादाय A inserts अधस्तन bet. तमादाय and पञ्चमी° A, B omit संततिः. 249. A द्वयोः for तयोः. 249–250. For बन्धुमातामह...पर्यन्तायाः B reads निषिद्धत्वात् । एकतो मातृमातामहीतत्पितृपितामहप्रपितामहवृद्धप्रपितामहा अन्यतोऽपुत्रा मातृमातामहीभ्राता तदा. 251–52. निषिद्धत्वादिति...तदा Omitted by B. 252. A omits प्रपितामह. 253. A drops प्रत्येक. 254. B inserts मातृ bet. तु and मातामही. A, C drop पितृ. A drops प्रपितामह A drops प्रत्येक. 256. C अत्र for अथ, अविवाह्या for नोद्वाह्या, कन्या (C कन्यका) and च transposed. A adds नोद्वाह्या after this line. 259. B inserts इति bet. एतदेव and अन्यथा. 260. C drops तथा. 261. C नोद्वाह्या for उद्वाहिता B °कारिण्यस्तं यजन्ते for °कारित्वं भजन्त एव.

एतत्तु विद्यमानस्त्रीपरमिति स्मार्ताः ।

एकोदरप्रसूतानामेकस्मिन्नेव वासरे ।
विवाहश्च न कर्तव्यो गर्गस्य वचनं यथा ॥

मत्स्यसूक्तमहातन्त्रेऽपि—

एकस्मिन् दिवसे चैव सोदराणां तथैव च ।
युग्ममौद्वाहिकं वर्ज्यं कन्यादानद्वयं तथा ॥

वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्यः —

विवाहे वितते तन्त्रे होमकाले उपस्थिते ।
कन्याया ऋतुरागच्छेत् कथं कुर्वन्ति याज्ञिकाः ॥
स्नापयित्वा तु तां कन्यामर्चयित्वा यथाविधि ।
हुत्वाज्यं चैव लाजांश्च ततस्तन्त्रं प्रवर्तयेत् ॥

होमोऽत्र गायत्र्येति पशुपतिः । "मन्त्रानादेशे गायत्री"ति न्यायात् । "अनादिष्टे शतमिति" वचनात् शतहोमं कुर्यादिति । "अष्टाविंशतिरष्टौ वा" इत्यशक्तविषयम् । हारीतः—" ज्येष्ठेऽनिर्विष्टे कनीयान् निर्विशन् परिवेत्ता भवति, परिविन्नो ज्येष्ठः, परिवेदनीया कन्या, परिदायी दाता, परिकर्ता याजकः । ते सर्वे पतिता " इति । अस्यापवादमाह छन्दोगपरिशिष्टं—

देशान्तरस्थक्लीबैकवृषणानसहोदरान् ।
वेश्याभिसक्तपतितशूद्रतुल्यातिरोगिणः ॥
जडमूकान्धबधिरकुब्जवामनकुष्ठकान् ।
अतिवृद्धानभार्यांश्च कृषिसक्तान् नृपस्य च ॥
धनवृद्धिप्रसक्तांश्च कामतः कारिणस्तथा ।
कुलटोन्मत्तचौरांश्च परिविन्दन् न दुष्यति ॥

शूद्रतुल्यानाह मनुः —

गोरक्षकान् वाणिजिकान् तथा कारुकुशीलवान् ।
प्रेष्यान् वार्धुषिकांश्चैव विप्रान् शूद्रवदाचरेत् ॥

एकवृषणः "एकाण्डः षण्डविशेष" इति रत्नाकरः । एकस्यामेव स्त्रियां यस्याभिगमशक्तिरिति शूलपाणिः । जडो विकलान्तःकरणः, हिताहितावधारणाक्षमः

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268. B केचित् for स्मार्ताः C omits this line. 269. Omitted by B and C. 270. Omitted by B and C. 271. Omitted by B and C. 279. A and B omit इति. B drops पशुपतिः. B, C omit मन्त्रा...न्यायात्.

280–81. अनादिष्टे...अशक्तविषयम् Omitted by C. 281. B drops इति. 282. Bet. ज्येष्ठ and परि° B, C insert इति. 282–83. परिवेदनीया... पतिता इति Omitted by B, C. 283. C omits छन्दोगपरिशिष्टम्.

290–298. Omitted by B and C. 291–92. VIII. 102.

इति मिताक्षरां।- कुण्ठः सर्वक्रियालसः। अभार्यान् शास्त्रनिषिद्धभार्यासंबन्धान् नैष्ठिकब्रह्मचारिवानप्रस्थभिक्षुकान्। नृपस्य चेति चकारेण सक्तानित्यनुकृष्यते। कामतः कारिणः श्रौतस्मार्तनिरपेक्षस्वच्छन्दव्यवहारिणः। कुलं परकुलं परगोत्रं अटति गच्छति प्राप्नोति यो दत्तकादिः स कुलटः।

काश्यपः —

शुल्केन ये प्रयच्छन्ति स्वसुतां लोभमोहिताः।
आत्मविक्रयिणः पापा महाकिल्बिषकारिणः॥
पतन्ति नरके घोरे घ्नन्ति चासप्तमं कुलम्।
गमनागमने चैव सर्वंशुल्को विधीयते॥

गमनागमने पारितोषिकद्रव्यमादाय कन्यापितृवेश्मनि यातायाते। याज्ञवल्क्यः —

दत्वा कन्यां हरन् दण्ड्यो व्ययं दद्याच्च सोदयम्।
मृतायां दत्तमादद्यात् परिशोध्योभयव्ययम्॥

कात्यायनः —

अनेकेभ्योऽपि दत्तायामनूढायां तु यत्र वै।
वरागमश्च सर्वेषां लभेताद्यवरस्तु ताम्॥
पश्चाद्वरेण यद्दत्तं तस्याः प्रतिलभेत सः।
अथागच्छेत् समूढायां दत्तं पूर्ववरो हरेत्॥

स्मृतिः —

सप्त पौनर्भवाः कन्या वर्जनीयाः कुलाधमाः।
वाचा दत्ता मनोदत्ता कृतकौतुकमङ्गला॥
उदकस्पर्शिता या तु या च पाणिगृहीतिका।
अग्निं परिगता या तु पुनर्भूः प्रसवा च या।
इत्येताः काश्यपेनोक्ता दहन्ति कुलमग्निवत्॥

कृतकौतुकमङ्गला बद्धकङ्कणाः।

इति महामहोपाध्यायगोपालपञ्चाननभट्टाचार्यविरचितः संबन्धनिर्णयः समाप्तः।

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304. C कन्यायाः for कन्या. 306–7. II. 8. 146.

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REVIEWS

Alphabetical Index of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library. By Pandit V. Krishnamacharya. The Adyar Library Series No. 45. Size 10″ by 7·5″. Pp. vi, 210. Adyar, 1944. Price Rs. 10.

The Theosophical Society of Adyar possesses one of the finest collections of Sanskrit MSS. in the world. The Adyar Library published a Classified Catalogue in two volumes of these MSS. in 1928 and has also undertaken a scheme of preparing a complete Descriptive Catalogue, of which Vol. I, describing the Vedic MSS., prepared by K. M. K. Sarma was published in 1942. But it will naturally take many years before all the volumes of the Des. Cat. are published. Moreover, the Library has acquired many MSS. since 1928 and therefore Sanskrit Scholars will warmly welcome this latest publication of the Library giving as it does an up-to-date information of the Sanskrit works available in its rich and varied collection of Sanskrit MSS.

The present work is divided into two parts. The first contains an alphabetical Index of Works and each entry gives the name of a work with its author and subject. If a work is also available in any of the five important MSS. Libraries of South India, their names are duly indicated after such a work; and an asterisk is used to show that a work is not noticed in Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum. On actual calculation I find that out of the total of 7864 MSS. which are listed here, 1539 are not noticed by Aufrecht according to the compiler. An alphabetical Index of the Authors of works listed in the first part, with their works arranged in the same order forms the second part. The Index, however, does not state the number of MSS. available for a particular work or the scripts in which they are written. But these details can be very easily ascertained on inquiry to the Library.

The Govt. Ori. MSS. Library, Madras, has already published an Index of Works in 3 parts and also an Index of Authors. It would be a great help to Sanskrit Scholars if other Libraries would similarly publish up-to-date Indexes of Authors and works in their possession.

N. A. G.

Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. V, Poona, 1943–1944. Rs. 16/–.

The V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Volume of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, brought out on 21st January 1944, the First Anniversary of the death of Dr. Sukthankar speaks volumes for the devoted labour of its Editors Dr. V. M. Apte, and Dr. H. D. Sankalia, and the unfailing initiative, help and co-operation of Dr. S. M. Katre, the Director of the Institute in bringing this co-operative project to fruition. All the fourteen contributions to this volume of 387 pages so excellently printed by the Government Central Press are replete with learning and scholarship, harnessed for the sole purpose of studying the different aspects of the *Mahābhārata*, the Great Epic of this Bhāratavarṣa and thus honouring the Great Editor of this Epic, the late lamented Dr. Sukthankar, who was closly connected with the D. C. Research Institute first as a Member of its Reorganization Committee and later as the Member of its Committee of Direction and the first Council of its Management. We congratulate Mr. B. J. Wadia, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Bombay, the Chairman of the D. C. Institute Council, Dr. Katre and the learned Editors and the contributors to the volume on this excellent production of their newly revived Deccan College Institute. Dr. Sukthankar was an ideal Scholar as will be seen from Dr. Katre's monograph on "*Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar and His Contribution to Indology*" at the beginning of the volume. The present reviewer brought out on 21st January 1944 the First Volume of the Epic writings of Dr. Sukthankar on behalf of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee. Dr. Sukthankar lived for the Mahābhārata and died for it. His example will not fail to stir up the soul of Indian Critical Scholarship, which is now gathering strength year after year and developing not only a critical method but a creative vision as well.

P. K. Gode.

Ās'valāyana Gṛhya Sūtra with the commenteries of Devasvāmin and Nārāyaṇa edited by Swami Ravi Tirtha, Vol. I—Adhyāya I. With a foreword by Prof. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.. Price Rs. 6–4–0.

The Gṛhya Sūtras – the Vedic School-texts that formally lay down rules for the *domestic ritual* – have been very aptly described as the 'Folklore Journals of Ancient India'. They are a real treasure for the Ethnologist, being his chief sources for the popular customs and usages of a very ancient period in Indian History (C. 600 B. C. to 200 B. C.). They present a vivid picture of the social and religious life of those days. Rubricated, besides, in their ritual directions, is a vast body of Mantras, cited (most of them) from the earlier strata of Vedic literature. A number of problems regarding these Mantras await investigation. Many of them (for example) have to be traced to their sources and interpreted, and the applicability of their liturgical employment examined. Their contextual evolution (particularly of those taken from the Ṛgveda and other Saṁhitās) in the whole field of Vedic literature is a problem of absorbing interest.*

Inspite of these and kindred problems that await thorough investigation, the Gṛhya Sūtras are, *comparatively speaking*, a neglected branch of Vedic Studies! Although the total number of *Known* Gṛhya Sūtras is about 19 (Nineteen), not all have been yet published, a few only can boast of critical editions, while the texts of some are still reposing in manuscript form! If this is the state of things as regards the texts of the Gṛhya Sutras, how long the texts of the various commentaries on the more important of them will take, before they are all available in a critically edited form can only be a matter of guess!

It is, therefore, that we welcome the beautifully printed and nicely got up volume before us.

* The reviewer (a Professor of Sanskrit Literature at the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona), has dealt with some of these problems in connection with the *Āśvalāyana* Gṛhya Sūtra in his two monographs :— "Ṛgveda Mantras in their ritual setting in the Gṛhya Sūtras" and "Non-Ṛgvedic Mantras rubricated in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra : sources and interpretation". Two Ph. D. students working under his guidance have very nearly completed two dissertations which *together* survey the *mantra* material in all the extant Gṛhya Sūtras from these points of view.

We gather from the information supplied by the *Catalogus Catalogorum* and other Catalogues, reports and notices of Sanskrit manuscripts that there are a number of commentaries on the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, of which manuscripts are available. (All this material – the editor assures us—will be discussed in the detailed Introduction to be published after the commentary is printed). Among these, the commentary of Nārāyaṇa has been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica Series and that of Haradatta has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series as No. 78. But the commentary of Devasvāmin, which is a Bhāṣya rather than a Vyākhyā, holds an important place by reason of the acuteness and profundity of his many learned comments and is besides *earlier* than both these Commentaries, because Nārāyaṇa mentions Devasvāmin as an earlier commentator and Haradatta criticizes the views of Nārāyaṇa without mentioning his name. We, therefore, warmly congratulate all those concerned in the production of this volume, *as it makes the commentary of Devasvāmin available in print for the first time.*

It must be said to the credit of the Editor that there is evidence in the edition, of his critical acumen and sober judgment in the handling of the manuscript-material at his disposal. We are therefore encouraged to offer some constructive criticism in the hope, that it will be considered at the time of the publication of the second volume to follow.

In the first place, it was not quite necessary in our opinion, to print the Commentary of Nārāyaṇa, *printed as it is already, in the Bibliotheca India Series.* The alterations and improvements effected by utilising a manuscript of the same in the Adyar Library can hardly be a sufficient justification for reprinting the whole of it. At the most, these improvements may have been noted in an Appendix, in a tabular form with detailed references to the relevant passages in the Bibliotheca Indica edition. Our view is, that if the commentary of Nārāyaṇa was to be reprinted at all, in a separate book-form, it should have been only in the form of the *critical edition of it based on all the available MSS. and editions.* The saving in space thus effected, could have been utilised in the publication within the limits of a single handy volume, the whole of Devasvāmin's *bhāṣya.* The

urgent need to-day is for more and more critical editions of texts or (in the absence of adequate material for the same), at the least, for the first printing of texts available so far in manuscript form only. Secondly, it was hardly a happy decision, in our opinion not to have utilised fully in this very volume, the Trivandrum manuscript of Devasvāmin's commentary, about which the Editor says (on page x of the Introduction):— "On comparison, it was found that the readings found are very different from the readings in other manuscripts. The difference is so great that the Trivandrum manuscript has to be called a distinct recension." *The important variæ lectiones themselves constituted in our view, a sufficient justification to collate them all in this very volume, in the manner of a critical edition.* The omission of Nārāyaṇa's commentary would have provided the necessary space for detailed extracts from that 'recension'.

7. After having said this, we desire once again to record our appreciation of the high standard of the Editor's performance and the excellent work which is being done by the Adyar Library in making available to scholars, valuable unpublished Sanskrit texts, in their fine series.

V. M. APTE.

Warning to the West by Dr. Krishnalal Shridharani, International Book House Ltd., Bombay. Pages 189, price Rs. 4–14. First American edition 1943: first Indian edition January 1944.

The book has been written in the spirit of '*Only a friend warns, the enemy strikes*'. 'If my manner is blunt,' says the author in his foreword 'it is because I cannot be polite and mean business at the same time.' To a superficial observer the book might pass for a journalistic cheep tirade on Anglo-Saxon imperialism. Tirade it is not; it a warning, not a hollow, unsubstantiated one but a product of cogent and well reasoned outline of argument that can suggest itself only to an independent observer and a courageous thinker. The freshness and originality of thought and the vigour of expression strikes the reader as he reads the book page after page. In his chapter on 'Land Logic for the Air Age' he points out how the aeroplane would usher in the era of the fall of sea-powers and the rise of land-powers. The main theme of the book is that.

The East has awakened ; the West with all its achievements has limitations. Nothing less than a revolution in the insular psychology of the Western man can bring about a far-reaching solution. Without that all peace treaties would be patchwork compromises heading the world on to a fiercer conflict and terrific destruction. Anglo-saxon imperialism and Nazian fascism are but the two jackets of the same book written with the ink of exploitation. The author gives a plain warning when he says 'Australia is the greatest politico-geographic anomaly in the present day world. Unless something drastic is done to it during the post-war period it is bound to be the cause of future armed conflicts. Australia's body lies in the bed of Asia, but its heart is far across waters....To maintain that Australia cannot absorb a greater population is statistical non-sense.' He makes a special appeal to America when he says 'America is the only Western power that is still trusted in Asia...Whether the U. S. A. likes the idea or not, the truth is that the world's centre of cultural, economic and political gravity has after 450 years, at last sailed after Columbus across the Atlantic. The responsibility of the United States should be equal to its powers'.

With the exception of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Dr. Shridharani is perhaps the only Indian who can look at the Indian events in a world perspective. His mastery of the English language also reminds the reader of the same sturdy champion of India's freedom. His masterly chapter on Cripps *vs.* Cripps in which he exposes Cripps of the year 1942 by quoting Cripps of the year 1939 is a fine example of his close study of current events and acute journalistic skill. The book should be on the table of every Anglo-American who is willing to have self-introspection and is anxious to know the other side of the picture. It should be on the table of every educated Indian who would like to look at India's problem in a world perspective. In fact to an average citizen anxious to know something of the supreme present-day political problem of the world we can recommend two books : Wendell Wilkies' 'One World' and the book we have just reviewed.

R. V. OTURKAR

Jñānadīpikā of Devabodha Udyogaparva Edited by Dr. S. K. De. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1944. Rs. 3/-.

This is a critical edition of the *Jñānadīpikā*, the oldest known commentary, on the Udyoga-Parvan of the Mahābhārata. It is based on a unique palm-leaf MS. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is not as prolific as some other commentaries on the epic and it was so long thrown into oblivion by the commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha, who extensively copies from it. It explains certain difficult words and phrases only and occasionally summarises the contents of chapters.

We are so far aware of its existence only in the case of five Parvans—Ādi, Sabhā, Udyoga, Bhīṣma, and Droṇa. Dr. R. N. Dandekar has recently made available a critical edition of the commentary on the Ādi Parvan, and here is an equally good edition of the commentary on the Udyoga, by no less a scholar than Dr. De, best qualified for the task by his critical edition of the same Parvan published by the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute.

Devabodha, the author of the commentary, is placed earlier than 1150 A. D. We would perhaps have been able to fix his date more exactly had we known the sources which he draws upon. But unfortunately he does not name them. He was a *Sannyāsin*, may be a pontiff of some *muth* in Kashmir, as his title Bhaṭṭāraka seems to prove.

If the remaining portions of the commentary be also made accessible to the world of scholars by the Bhavan, it will no doubt be a great asset to the Mahābhārata studies.

D. G. KOPARKAR.

Prema-Vijaya by T. S. Sundaresa Sarma, published by The General Stores, Tanjore 1943, pp. 74, price Re. 1/-.

Mr. T. S. Sundaresa Sarma is already known to Sanskrit readers by his previous original works in Sanskrit. We are pleased to note that Mr. Sarma has continued to write in Sanskrit when the surrounding atmosphere is not at all congenial to the composition of works in a language which has no market value.

The present play, as its title indicates, is a love-story of a court-poet's son who ultimately succeeds in obtaining the hand

of the princess in spite of the obstructions raised by the villain. Such themes are familiar to the students of English and Sanskrit literature and the author of the play under review has, by his thorough mastery of the language, made the whole story quite interesting. Even a casual reader will find many *subhāṣitas* scattered here and there throughout the play. We congratulate the author for rendering such valuable service to the cause of Sanskrit literature and hope, that he will receive encouragement from the general public as also from Government.

M. M. PATKAR.

Pāṇinīyas'abdānus'āsana or Mahārāṣṭriya Aṣṭādhyāyī by Mahārāṣṭriya, with the author's own commentary, Vol. I, pp. 1-11, 1-183 and 1-12. Published by Ramachandra Sharma, Rajapur, Dist. Ratnagiri. Price Rs. 3.

There have been grammars of Sanskrit both before and after the Aṣṭādhyāyī, including the attempts of some recent Western Orientalists; yet Pāṇini's genius is such that the Aṣṭādhyāyī is still the grammar of Sanskrit, and so will it continue as long as Sanskrit is studied. Only those who do not understand the subtle but sure post-Pāṇinian changes and who do not take into consideration the various factors which tend to the growth or decay of a language, can lay at Pāṇini's doors the unsubstantiated blame that his grammar has prevented the growth of the language. Pāṇini's was not a static effort at dissecting the language, but an organism that grew along with the other organism of which it was born, viz. the language. Such grammarians as Kātyāyana and Patañjali who, instead of writing indenpendent grammars of their own, preferred to work on Pāṇini and thus laid the largest amount of praise at his feet, show that the Pāṇinian grammar is the only one that has succeeded in the analysis of the language.

Besides a large number of commentaries like the Vārtika and the Mahābhāṣya, which have kept Pāṇini abreast of later developments, and those like the one by Annambhaṭṭa which are mere paraphrases, there have been several recasts of the Aṣṭādhyāyī mainly with a view to simplifying the system. The earliest known of these is the Rūpamālā. The one that is now

very popular among students is the Siddhānta Kaumudī of Bhaṭṭoji. In a review like this it is not possible to deal with the merit of each recast, but it can be said that some of the recasts like the Prakriyā Kaumudī of Rāmacandra, the Prakriyāsarvasva of Nārāyaṇa and the Siddhānta Kaumudī are not intended to be mere simplifications. There are attempts in these to bring within the scope of Pāṇini a few later changes of the language. Epitomes of recasts (e. g. Laghusiddhānta Kaumudī) which have appeared during late centuries when there was a general decadence of Sanskrit literature and grammar was the concern of a few, are a third category to be mentioned in this connection.

The book under review is a successful recast of the Aṣṭādhyāyī in easy Anuṣṭubh verse followed by the author's own commentary in prose. The present volume, i. e. the first part contains three Adhyāyas comprising (1) Saṁjñā and Paribhāṣā, (2) Sandhi-prakaraṇa and (3) Ṣaḍliṅgaprakaraṇa, Kāraka and Strīpratyaya. In giving precedence of treatment to Kāraka over Strīpratyaya there is made here a departure from the usual practice of the recasts. Bhaṭṭoji and others treat of Strīpratyaya earlier, as, unlike Kāraka, it does not depend on the external relationship of a word and is thus comparatively Antaraṅga. It would have been better if in a work intended for modern students, the author had been a Lakṣyaika-Cakṣus and avoided such examples as गम्लृ (p. 18). On page 4 वास्त्व्य is given to illustrate the conjuction of स्, त्, व् and य्. The derivation of the word is not quite clear. If the base is वस्तु, the derivative can be only वास्तव or वास्तव्य. It would have been better if, in a work on grammar like this, the author had strictly followed the rules of Sandhi at least in verse where there is no doubt occasioned in Saṁhitā. Those who for obvious reasons take cover under the option of असंहिता sometimes even in verse, do not deserve to be emulated by grammarians who know their Pāṇini. The book needs an index. There minor defects notwithstanding, the author deserves to be warmly congratulated on his remarkable success in epitomizing the difficult Sūtras of Pāṇini in verse, and the book is a welcome addition to the existing literature, being specially commendable to beginners of grammar, to whom

as a guide it should prove simpler than many others of its kind. The attempt is particularly praiseworthy in view of the fact that the production of original Śāstraic treatises in Sanskrit is fast becoming a thing of the past. The book has an illuminative introduction in Sanskrit pointing out the importance of the study of grammar. The get up is quite good. We eagerly expect the other volumes.

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.

Usāṇiruddhaṃ, a Prakrit poem in four cantos by Rāmapāṇivāda, edited by (1) Dr. A. N. Upadhye in the Bombay University Journal for 1941, and (2) by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri and Dr. Kunhan Raja, No. 42 of the Adyar Library Series, 1943. Prices Rs. 3–8.

We have before us two editions of the above-mentioned Prakrit Poem of Rāmapāṇivāda, a Keral poet of the 18th century. Dr. Upadhye's edition, though scholarly and accurate as far as editorial requirements are concerned, suffers in publicity as it was published in a Journal. Dr. Upadhye's edition of Kaṃsavaho made this poet known to us. In his introduction to that work, he gave us a full account of this poet, his works in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Malayalam, and was naturally anxious to have his other work in Prakrit, viz., Usāṇiruddhaṃ out. He therefore published, rather hurriedly, this poem in the Bombay University Journal, being unaware of the fact that the work was being printed for inclusion in the Adyar Library Series. His edition is based on a single Ms., which is a transcript of a Devanāgarī Ms in the Government Oriental Library, Madras, which in its turn must have been a copy of another in the Grantha or Malayalam script, now no longer traceable. This Ms. is defective as some 15 stanzas at the end of canto II are wanting in it. With such scanty and defective material Dr. Upadhye has given us a fairly readable text. Had he (or the copyist of the Madras Ms.) known the device that in Grantha and Malayalam scripts a hollow round represents an anusvāra as well as a conjunct, he could have reduced his critical apparatus considerably.

The Adyar edition on the other hand, is a neat and nicely printed volume. It is based on a complete palm leaf Ms. in the

Grantha script, which the Editor, the late Pandit Subrahmanya Sastri could read with ease. The Adyar Library undertook the edition of a Prakrit work for the first time, and the Editor lacked experience in editing works in this language. Dr. Raja, who ultimately completed the editorial work, does not seem to have bestowed his usual care on this edition, with the result that Dr. Upadhye's edition and Madras Ms. stand mentioned in his Introduction, but he does not seem to have made use of them for his Appendix. This is regrettable.

P. L. V.

Padyāmṛta-taraṅginī by Haribhāskara. Edited by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, Ph. D. (Lond). Pp. Dm. ccxxi, 135. Published by the Editor. Calcutta, 1941. Rs. 8.

Sūkti-sundara by Sundaradeva. Edited by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, Ph. D. (Lond.). Pp. Cr. 56. Published by the Editor. Calcutta, 1943, Price Re. 1/8/- .

The anthologies in Sanskrit are veritable golden treasuries of Sanskrit Literature and they have preserved for us many a precious gem of Sanskrit Poetry in all its diverse moods. But their real importance lies in the fact that they often bring to light many poets who are otherwise unknown. Though valuable anthologies like the *Paddhati* of Sāṛṅgadhara, the *Subhāṣitavali* of Vallabhadeva have been edited before by competent scholars, no concerted effort was so far made to bring out critical editions of the many anthologies that are yet unpublished. It is gratifying to note, therefore, that Dr. Chaudhuri, ably supported by his learned wife Dr. Mrs. Roma Chaudhuri has devoted the fourth and last of the Sanskrit Series started by him to the publication of Anthologies in Sanskrit.

The *Padyataraṅgiṇī* contains 300 stanzas, out of which 112 are given anonymously and the rest are ascribed to 44 different poets. This critical edition is based on six Mss. belonging to the B. O. R. I. Poona. The exhaustive and scholarly introduction gives detailed information about the date and works of the author Haribhāskara and also of other authors quoted in the anthology. There are five Appendixes and a Verse-Index which greatly enhance the value of this edition.

The *Sūktisundara*, unlike the Padyataraṅgiṇī, is based on the only extant fragmentary Ms. belonging to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. This Anthology consists of 174 stanzas limited to the descriptions of kings only. Of these 50 are given anonymously and the rest are attributed to 32 poets. Considering the handicaps under which the editor had to work, he has acquitted himself very well and has increased the usefulness of the volume by adding four Indexes. We wish the author every success and eagerly look forward to the publication of many other anthologies in his Series: the Saṁskṛta Kośa-Kāvya-Saṅgraha.

Gītā Mañjarī Edited by the Pandit Narottamdas Swami. Pp. Dm. xlii, 90. Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, 1944.

The *Gīta Mañjarī* is an anthology of Old Rājasthani Bardic Songs and forms the Dedicatory Volume of the recently started Sadul Oriental Series. The Series bears the name of the present ruler of Bikaner, Maharaja Shri Shardulsinghji Bahadur and aims at publishing important and interesting works in Rajasthani (which is the mother tongue of the rulers of Bikaner) and Hindi just as its companion series, the Ganga Oriental Series is publishing works in Sanskrit.

As the present volume was compiled to be presented to the Maharaja of Bikaner on the auspicious occasion of his birth-day, it contains just forty-two songs, in view of the fact that he completed his forty-second year on the 24th August 1944. Another interesting factor about the volume is that some of the songs included in it were composed by the former rulers of Bikaner. These songs are the spontaneous outpourings of the hearts of Rajput Bards and describe the exploits, the great royal virtues and the liberality of the kings of Bikaner and the great patronage bestowed by them on poets and authors. The English Introduction of Dr. C. K. Raja, to whose inspiration the present volume owes its existence and the Hindi Preface of the Editor explain the back-ground of these bardic songs and the place they occupy in Rajasthani literature. Each song is accompanied by a short prefatory note in English which helps us to understand its context. But as old Rajasthani is not easily understood even by a Hindi-knowing reader, full appreciation of these

bardic songs is seriously hampered for want of an English or Hindi translation, which, we hope, will be applied in the next edition.

N. A. G.

Akabarasāhi-Śringāradarpaṇa of Padmasundara, ed. by K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, M. O. L., and published by Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner The Ganga Oriental Series No. 1, 1943; Pp. xxxvii, 46 and 60. Price Rs. 2.

The book under review is a small treatise on Erotics composed by Padmasundara, the court-poet and friend of Akbar. The author was a Jain scholar of repute and seems to have written about ten other works on varied subjects like lexicography, astronomy, logic, literary criticism, Stotras, etc. He is identified by the editor with the *Paramindar* of the Ain-i-Akbari, and 1560 A. D. is plausibly fixed as the approximate date of composition of this work.

The work is based on two Mss., contemporaneous with the author himself, preserved in the wonderful collection of Mss. brought together by Maharaja Anup Singhji of Bikaner. It is written in close imitation of the *Śṛṅgāratilaka* of Rudraṭa. Though the subject-matter is old, the presentation is absolutely novel and original. The poet illustrates his theories with verses of his own composition addressed to the emperor, Akbar.

Śṛṅgārasañjīvinī, another poem of 104 verses on Erotics is published as an appendix to the above work. Its text is based on a single Ms. and still the editor has done his work quite satisfactory. This beautiful poem, written some time before the seventeenth century by Haridevamiśra, certainly adds to the usefulness of the volume.

The publishers deserve our compliments for bringing out this volume with a studied introduction by the editor, learned notes by C. Kunhan Raja, Indices, etc., and we hope they will earnestly undertake a serial publication of the rare Mss. in the rich collection of the Anup Sk. Library, and thus oblige those interested in the Oriental studies.

D. G. KOPARKAR

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(Dr. R. N. Sardesai)

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Samūrtārcanādhikaraṇa-Atri Saṁhitā—(समूर्तार्चनाधिकरणम्) of Maharṣi Atri ed. by P. Raghunath Chakravarti and M. Ramakrishna Kavi. The present treatise, according to Vaikhānasa conceptions, treats of the subject in six sections *viz.* Karṣaṇa, Pratiṣṭha, Pūjā, Snapana, Utsava and Prāyaścitta. The work is of immense importance to both the architect and student of ancient Indian culture. Tirupati 1943. Demi Pp. xxviii, 560, 12. Rs. 8

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(*2 Vols. already published at Rs. 5 each and 2 more are to be out.*)

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ṚGVEDIC THEORY AND TREATMENT OF RASA AND DHVANI

By P. S. Shastri, M. A.

It is not difficult to postulate that the Ṛgvedic Poets had notions corresponding to the theories of Rasa and Dhvani. From their treatment we can put forth certain tentative conclusions. Before doing that we have to note the celebrated hymn 10.71, where we have some ideas corresponding to these theories.

"The wise in spirit have created language like men cleansing cornflour in a sieve. Vāk was taking refuge in the hearts of the seers. Performing pious rites, they traced her, brought her forth, and spread her in different directions." Here we have a reference to the manifestation of sound and the importance of a meaning to a word. "One man has never seen Vāk, and yet he sees; one man has hearing but has never heard her. But she has shown her beauty to another like a fond, well-dressed lady to her lord." The word has a primary meaning of its own. But in the hands of poet it has a peculiarly different interpretation as it rests in a particular context. This is its implied meaning, as the Dhvani-theory observes. But just as a beloved shows her beauty as a single unit thoroughly and uniformly to her fond and affectionate lord, so also does the word manifest its beauty to the Sahṛdaya.

"The laggard and the dull who do not understand the beauty of the word wander in profitless illusion." They are deceived by the direct or the seeming meaning of the word. The

word they hear "Yields neither fruit nor blossom". A word can yield blossom or fruit only when its implication is stressed by the poet, for the blossom and the fruit are only later developments. It is the atmosphere of infinite suggestion or dhvani that yields the fruit to the Sahṛdaya in the advancement of his anubhūti.

"All are endowed with the same eyes and hearing. But they are un-equal in the quickness of their spirit", in their apprehension of the implications and suggested meanings. "Some of them look like tanks that reach the mouth or shoulder; others look like pools of water fit to bathe in. Those who have attained Vāk in sinful fashion spin out their thread in ignorance like female weavers." They do not perceive the inherent beauty of the word, and hence only care for the outer embellishments in art, never recognising the equal importance of the content also. Thus the entire hymn has some revelations to make towards a theory of suggestion in art.

Speech figures as a cow in the imagery of the Ṛgvedic poets. She is often called the gladdener (8.89.11), the queen and the most thoughtful one (10.124.3). The conception of Vāk and of Sarasvatī, the later identification of the river Sarasvatī with the goddess Sarasvatī, and the part played by Soma in rapture and the consequent poetic creations speak of something like a Rasānubhūti. Yet it is too presumptious to speak of a Rasa theory in the Ṛgveda, though we can, with confidence, speak of a dhvani theory.

Śṛṅgāra.

We can gather better information about their theories of Rasa and Dhvani by examining their treatment of the poetical subjects and sentiments. First we can take up Śṛṅgāra or the Sentiment of love. There are three important dialogues dealing with love and these can be taken as representing three essential phases of love. Yamī comes toward to woo her own brother Yama (10.10). Here the love is purely carnal and Yama refuses to yield himself to her caprices, taking his stand on ethics and conscience. Then we have Lopāmudrā on the very end of her beauty, while her lord is aloof with the pretext of penance (1.179). She complains of oldage impairing the beauty of her

limbs and reminds Agastya of the ancient seers, who performed many severe austerities, did not act in the same way. Agastya tries to defend his action, but finally "the unsteady female beguiles the steady male". Here carnality and the sex impulse are subjected to a certain extent to the mental and spiritual of gymnastics. Still the note is one of physical beauty, its longings and its appeasements, so finally Agastya turns out to expiate his guilt. Lastly we have Purūravas in quest of his beloved nymph Urvaśī, who fled away like the first of the dawns (10.95). The lover has not risen up to the heights of pure impersonal beauty. He has not yet acquired the detached intellectual love, which seems to be the exclusive prerogative of the nymph. She adopted herself to the changing circumstances, but he has not utilised them to change his outlook. So she fled and he had to carry on penance again.

From these three dialogues we can infer that the Vedic poet did not visualise Śṛṅgāra as a physical concept. It is intellectual and spiritual. An inward change is necessary for the final beatitude. The element of love can be perfect only when it is spiritually felt. Pure carnalism lands one in Rasābhāsa. Both the lover and the loved must be of the same temperament and status.

Pure love for its own sake has been well represented by the ballad of Mudgalānī (10.102). The love and marriage of Sūryā (10.85) is ideal. Jealousy obstructs the free progress of love, as can be seen from the monologues of Indrāṇī (10.146,164,166 etc.). In the Vṛṣākapi dialogue (10.86), Indra adopts bimself to the outlook of his wife, but pleads in a mild tone. Thus Śṛṅgāra is seen in all its possible varieties, all the while stressing on inner purification, and mental and moral elevation.

Hāsya.

Many of the western scholars deny the sentiment of humour to the Vedic poets. But we have a good number of instances in the text of Ṛgveda to prove the contrary. Humour is not a trick of expression aimed at evoking a laugh, as many of the Vidūṣakas go to prove. It is an essential constituent of the human personality employed to point out some defect, weakness or failing and to correct its course. This feature has been well

developed in the character of Śakāra. And it is this that we come across in Ṛgveda.

The humour of Ṛgveda is refined and to a great extent intellectual. It reflects on the weaknesses in society, in behaviour and moral outlook. All the while the poet is consciously aiming not at satirising a weakness but at an art form for a serious humour and consideration.

One poet observes "Wake up the generous donors; let Misers sleep now Unawakened" (1.124.10). The same thought occurs again in another song to the dawns, where the poet observes, the wealthy dawns urge the liberal donors to present their riches; let the Misers sleep unawakened in the midst of the unlighted depths of darkness (4.51.3). The same idea occurs again in two more songs exclusively devoted to *dakṣṇā* (10.107.3, 7 ; 19.117). This type of humour is more frivolous and highly sarcastic. It has a bitter tinge around it and the poet is conscious of it.

Vasiṣṭha's song to the frogs is a classic by itself, apart from its poetic aspect, in the realm of humour. Any amount of reading into the inner content or thought will try to dispel the apparent vein of humour. It is not a satire, nor is it a spell; it is neither a song of serious import, nor of light frivolity. At the outset it is nothing but a rich vein of humour. Just like the Brahmans who keep silence for a long time as a vow and then begin to utter, so do the frogs being inspired by Parjanya (7.103.1). Their music comes forth in a concert like the bellowings of the cows (3). One repeats the other's language, as the master and the pupil do the sacred recital (5). Not only this; as they converse their limbs expand in the degree of their oratory! The frogs sitting around the pool are like the priests around the vessel in Atirātra (7). Here is no satire, but pure humour. The frogs have been elevated to the lofty place of art and the comparisons are so keen and penetrating that they provoke thought.

The song of Śiśu in the ninth book (9.112) is another beautiful case of humour in a light and sporting vein. He is pressing out the *soma* juice and a variety of thoughts crops in his brain. He begins to generalise what he thinks. "The ways of men

are diverse, and all of us have a variety of thoughts". Then suddenly the figure of the priest appears before him in his visions. The priest longs to find out the worshipper, while the constructor of buildings has to seek for the ruind buildings : The doctor can go after the maimed. His father, as if he has found him out so in actual life, is reported to be a physician. The carpenter goes after the wealthy one with plants, feathers and stones. He has summed up the human life.

Indra is reported to be saying in one place that he will divide the riches of his enemy with the women, all without a fight (10.27.10). The fate of the weak allies is rich in humour. They had to change their sex after all. Just a few lines below (10.27.12) we read that " many a maid is pleasing to the suitor who would gladly marry her for her riches ; but if she is both good and beautiful, she finds a friend for herself too soon ". One has to offer a dowry only when his daughter has defective limbs or improper form. Then the presence of the dowry will make her appear beautiful.

At another place the poets tell us that they will ally themselves with princes, and obtain possessions by their own exertion (10.42.10). If they can attain riches like that, no one finds the necessity of an alliance with the princes, who are denied the spoils. Bhiṣag Ātharvaṇa's monologue about the herbs has a lively atmosphere of humour. He conceives of the plants as " born three ages earlier than the Gods " (10.97.1), like an innocent man he prostrates before them and speaks out that they shall be the winners of cattle if they can regain for him the sick one (10.97.5). But the following verse reveals that this is a pretence pure and simple. The colloquy of the plants and their promise at the end of the poem is in a glorious vein of humour.

In the famous dialogue between Viśvāmitra and the rivers there is a humorurs situation. He requests them to stay a while at his friendly request and let him speak and pass. But they tell him that Indra dug the channels and smote Vṛtra, thus letting loose the waters and ordering their course. And as they are commanded by Indra and Savitar, they cannot linger. Suddenly the sage catches the clue and begins to extol Indra (7).

Vṛṣākapi is eager to offer a sacrifice to Indra consisting of a slain wild ass which he has found somewhere, a dresser, a knife, a pan, and a waggon load of wood ! (10.86.18).

Purūravas is deeply agitated as to how his son would take up the father's tale of woe, and whether he will weep when he knows the story (10.95.12). Urvaśī coolly replies that she will console him when his tears fall. (10.95.13). Here is grim humour.

There is a bargain about Indra in the fourth book (4.24), where Indra is said to have uttered these lines.—

'He bid a small price for a thing of value. I was content, returning, still unpurchased. He heightened not his insufficient offer. Simple and clever both milk out the udder '. The shrewd seller and the needy buyer make as much fuss as possible in the bargain. The price to be paid for the buying of Indra is only ten cows, but Indra is returnable after the slaying of Vṛtra !

We have stray cases of profound humour in the text and they can be collected without comment.—

' Many a woman is more firm and better than the man who turns away from the Gods. She who discerns the weak and worn, the man who thirsts and is in want : she sets her mind upon the gods. And yet full many a one, unpraised, mean niggard, is entitled man : only as regards the fine to be paid for man—slaughter, either by him or for him, can be accounted a man ". (5.61.6-8). " The mind of woman brooks not discipline, her intellect hath little weight " (8. 33. 17). " When a man's daughter is blind, knowing it who will be angry with her for blindness ? " " Which of the two that will pour his anger on him—is it the man who leads her home, or he who loves her ? How many a maid is pleasing to the suitor who would gladly marry for her splendid riches. If the girl be both good and fair, she finds herself a friend among men " (10.27.11,12) " With women there can be no lasting friendship : hearts of hyenas are the hearts of women " (10.95.15).

Karuṇa.

Karuṇa is based on śoka or pathos. It is caused by iṣṭanāśa and aniṣṭāptti. The sentiment of pathos is closely intertwined

with śṛngāra in the dialogue between Purūravas and Urvaśī (10.95). The hero is really in a pathetic situation as he has lost his beloved. He is on the verge of committing suicide and in a fit of desperation he prefers to become a prey to the ravening wolves. The dialogue opens with a pathetic statement and a heart-rending appeal of Purūravas; and the sentiment is sustained throughout.

The appeal of Yamī to Yama (10.10) is pathetic and frantic at the same time. But it is a case of Rasābhāsa whence her love refuses to move us. There is again pathos in Agastya, when he tries to conciliate Indra who grew angry with the Maruts. (1,165,170,171).

Some of the songs addressed to Varuṇa and Rudra have a touch of pathos in them. The devotee sincerely requests them not to be angry. There is a touch of genuine pathos here—

" Mā tvā Rudra cukrudhāmā namobhir,
mā duṣṭutī Vṛṣabha mā sahūtī " (2.33.4).
" Kim āga āsa Varuṇa jyeṣṭham,
Yat stotāram jighāṁsasi sakhāyam.'' (7.86.4).
" Mo ṣu Varuṇa mṛnmayam
gṛham rājann aham gamam,
mṛḷā sukṣatra mṛḷaya." (7.89.1).

These and similar passages assure a lofty place to the sentiment of pathos, which is characterised in Ṛgveda by sincerity and a rare depth of thought and feeling.

Raudra and Vīra.

Raudra is based on Krodha. There are two contending parties, the victor and the vanquished. Battle and surprise give life to this sentiment and the action is swift as lightning. Vīra or heroism is based on Utsāha or enthuiasm. There is an impulse and inner urge to fight and come out successfully. Here the hero seeks certain friends who help him ; and at times he has to seek the foes that hide themselves.

The text of Ṛgveda is full to the brim with these two sentiments. Indra is the chief martial hero, who quelled numerous foes, chief of whom are Vṛtra and Vala. When Paṇīs stole the cows and hid them in a cave, Saramā was sent to trace the hiding place. In his valorous deeds Indra was greatly assisted,

by Bṛhaspati and the Maruts. Throughout, when the occasion demanded, these sentiments were developed systematically. When once Indra was feeling lazy to fight he was instigated by passages like "Kim muṣkavān baddha āsate". Even the women took part in these heroic enterprises. And we hear Indrāṇī saying:

"Utāham asmi vīriṇīndrapatnī
Marut-sakhā." (10.86.9).

The martial ballads that treat of the preparations for battle are a rich compendium of these sentiments.

The hero in Ṛgveda, is something like a superman who is venerated and respected. The poets longed for heroic children, and in their phraseology Vīra means a son.

"Unno vīrān arpaya bheṣajebhiḥ." (2.33).

The hero is raised to the status of a divinity.

Bhayānaka and Bībhatsa.

The sentiment of Bhayānaka is based on fear. The various phenomena that result from fear are to be portrayed and developed systematically. The Ṛgvedic poet had very little to fear. Hence we do not hear much of this sentiment in the text. While Raudra and Vīra have gone to perfection, this sentiment has only been noticed. The poet exhibits his pity and fear towards Uṣas, for the Sun will come soon and scorch her like a thief. To a certain extent, this sentiment is traceable to Agni in his flight (10.51) and to the Paṇis when they saw Saramā approach them (10.108). Thus Bhayānaka has been carefully given over to the party about to be vanquished.

Bībhatsa is based on Jugupsā and it exists when a thing is to be detested. But for the Ṛgvedic poets everything in this universe is noble and beautiful. They have systematically eschiewed the problem of evil, for they have not felt its existence. As such Bībhatsa is strikingly absent in the text; yet this sentiment appears in two or three places regarding the flight of the enemies. Again when it is said that the Ṛbhus divided into four the *camasa* cup made by Tvaṣṭar, Tvaṣṭar hid himself among dames, we have a case of Bībhatsa. Tvaṣṭar's manliness was gone, for his supremacy in art was challenged successfully.

Adbhuta.

Adbhuta is based upon Vismaya or surprise. Whenever greatness or a power is to be developed and manifested the poets take resort to this sentiment. Herein we can catalogue all the miracles performed by the Aśvins and Indra. There is an element of wonder in the poets' narration.

Besides this, the nature and the abode of the gods was another cause of surprise. The loftiest place of Viṣṇu is laid as it were an eye in heaven ; his station is most sublime, and the ever vigilant singers, lovers of holy song, light it up. (1.22.20,21) The immortal and deathless place where Soma has to place the singer is another case of astonishment (9.113.7.11).

The ballad of Apālā (8.80) is woven entirely round this sentiment. She came to the stream to carry a pitcher-full of water. But she was surprised to see the Soma plant nearby. And as she had no pressing stones with her, she pressed it with her teeth and invoked Indra, who immediately appeared before her. Finally we are told that Indra gave her sun-like skin.

Keśins, we are told, drank poison along with Rudra—

" Keśī viṣasya pātreṇa
Yad rudreṇāpibat saha." (10.136).

They did so, simply because they wanted to be proficient in spiritual affairs. This is a piece of astonishment and surprise.

A jubilant tone of surprise and joy was expressed by Indrāṇī who was to employ the herbs to control her husband. So Bhiṣag Ātharvaṇa's monologue with the herbs reveals to us still another psychological phase of the sentiment of astonishment.

Śānta.

Śānta is based on Śama and a philosophical import. It is employed to develop a purely spiritual outlook. The philosophical hymns and the riddle ballads are a glowing list of, and illustrations for this sentiment. The mystical raptures of the poets, and their transcendental experiences speak of the existence of Śānta as the fundamental and ultimate sentiment. Its very nature is a sort of effulgence (jyoti), which the seers attributed to the highest divinity, and which they longed to obtain— " Aganma jyotir avidāma svargam." It assures immortality

(9.113.7-11). It is always apprehended by the wise—"Sadā Paśyanti Sūrayaḥ." (1.22.20).

Thus it can be made out that the Ṛgvedic poets were well aware of all the different types of sentiments. It is impossible to say whether they actually had any such clear cut distinctions. But from the treatment they have bequeathed to us in their works, we can confidently say that they had a knowledge of the sentiments, and knew how to develop them.

Śṛngāra, Vīra, Karuṇa and Śānta have been well developed in the text and we constantly come across passages where the poets seem to think that Śānta is the ultimate state of human experience. An acquaintance with the sentiments in their generic aspects and a treatment of these is enough evidence to prove that they had a particular theory of Rasa.

The text of the Ṛgveda is primarily lyrical ; and a lyric is always spun around a single emotion that is well sustained. Hence there is no possibility to know the intricacies and the subtleties of these sentiments in the text of Ṛgveda.

Yet they knew how to combine certain Rasas harmoniously. Thus they fused Śṛngāra and Karuṇa with an intermixture of Hāsya.

Consistent with their theories of Poetry and Art,* the Ṛgvedic poets had a systematic theory of Rasa and of Dhavni. These may not be entirely similar to those of the later day rhetoricians. But in essence they are identical.

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* Vide 'The Ṛgvedic Theory of Poetry' and 'Theory of Metre' published in the proceedings of the Oriental Conference, Benares Session.

SĀRAGRĀHAKARMAVIPĀKA

By K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, M. O. L.

In Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I, p. 713 there is the following entry regarding this work :

सारग्राहकर्मविपाक dh. composed by Kānhaḍasūnu in 1384. In his History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I, p. 663 Prof. P. V. Kane has the following note :

सारग्राहकर्मविपाक. Composed by the eldest son of कान्हडदेव, son of पद्मनाभ, a नागरब्राह्मण and compiled in संवत् 1440 (1314 A. D.) at नन्दपद्रनगर under the patronage of कर्णसिंह, minister of king दुर्गसिंह, son of मङ्गलभूपाल .... The Baroda MS. 9082 was copied in संवत् 1496 (1439 A. D.).

Haraprasad Shastri in his Catalogue of the MSS of the A. S. B., Vol. III, p. 611 says : " सारग्राहकर्मविपाकः by the son of Kanhāḍa and grandson of Padmanābha .... The verses quoted in the I. O. Catalogue, from a Bombay manuscript, which gave the date of the composition of the work as Saṁvat 1440 and Śaka 1306 are omitted in the present manuscript."

These statements regarding the author and date of the work do not appear to be correct. There are two MSS of the work in the Anup Sanskrit Library. One of these is complete. At the beginning of the work here the author's name is clearly written as Kṛṣṇadeva. He is said to be the son and not the grandson of Padmanābha. At the same place the date of composition is given as 1432 Saṁvat. The MS is dated Saṁvat 1630. It was written when the son of Shershah was ruling. The other MS has lost foll. 2—4. The portion giving the date is thus missing in this. The first two syllables of the name of the author, *viz*. कृष्ण are however, clearly preserved. The author says that he brought the work from Kāśī. Probably he means that he compiled it at Kāśī and then brought it to Nandabhadrapura. The name of the place is spelt as Nandabhadrapura in the former MS, while in the latter it is spelt as Nandapadrapura.

The former begins :

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

यो देवः किल पूर्वसर्गसमये संस्मर्यते ब्रह्मणा
यश्चादौ सुरसिद्धदैत्यमनुजैरभ्यर्थ्यते कर्मगाम् ।
विघ्नव्रातविघातजातकठिनाकुण्ठं कुठारं करे
बिभ्राणं तमुपास्महे गजमुखं सिद्धेः परं कारणम् ॥ १ ॥
वन्दे विश्वनुतां पितामहसुतां वाग्देवतामेव तां
यस्याः पुण्यपदप्रसाददलिताशेषोग्रजाड्यो जनः ।
उद्यत्पार्वणचन्द्रसान्द्रितसुधापाथोधिवीचिच्छटा-
निर्णिक्ताननवर्णवाक्यनिकरैर्विद्वत्सु संदीव्यति ॥ २ ॥
तमादिदेवं जगतामधीशं चतुर्मुखं ध्यानजुषं प्रपद्ये ।
चराचरं यत्स्मरणाद्बभूव विद्यास्तथाष्टादश यन्मुखेभ्यः ॥ ३ ॥
विश्वत्रातारमीशं दलितदनुसुतं मुक्तिदं भक्तिभाजां
विश्वगूपं विशुद्धं विबुधजनघनप्रीतिदं योगिगम्यम् ।
विष्णुं कालग्रसिष्णुं करकलितगदाशङ्खचक्राब्जचापं
पापं विद्रावयन्तं भवजभयहरं ब्रह्म मूर्तं प्रपद्ये ॥ ४ ॥
देवं सुधाकरललाकलितोत्तमाकं त्र्यक्षं त्रिशूलधरमद्रिसुतावृताङ्कम् ॥
कोपप्रसादमिति वर्जितमुग्रवीर्यं वन्दे सुरर्षिगणसिद्धनुतं वृषाङ्कम् ॥ ५ ॥

It ends : राजा यत्र पुरे सुरेश्वरसमः श्रीदुर्गसिंहो महान-
द्धाङ्के ननु यस्य पट्टमहिषी धन्याम्बिका राजते ।
यस्याचिव्यधुरां कलयति श्रीकर्णकण्ठीरवः
कस्तद्वर्णयितुं क्षमः क्षितितले श्रीनन्दभद्रं पुरम् ॥
तद्वङ्गे भूपमान्यो निखिलनिगमवित्सर्वतीर्थावगाही
व्यासः श्रीपद्मनाभाङ्गज इह विदितः कृष्णदेवः सुधीशः ॥
जन्तुव्रातोपकृत्यै द्यनलजलनिधीन्द्वङ्किते(१४३२)ब्दे च पौषे
काशीतश्चानिनाय श्रुतमुकुटमणिं कर्मपूर्वं विपाकम् ॥ ६ ॥
इति सारग्रहो नाम कर्मविपाकग्रन्थः समाप्तः ॥
सम्बत् साम्बरचन्द्रतर्कवसुधे १६१० मासेऽथ कार्शानवे
दीपालीपरिदीपिते भृगुदिने जम्बूनिकुम्भाङ्किते ।
देशे सज्जनमण्डिते सकलराट्श्रीसेरसाहात्मजे
भूपे भूधरनन्दिनीपतिमतिः शीघ्रं लिलेख द्विजः ॥
समाप्तोयं कर्मविपाकः । श्रीरस्तु ।
शुभं भवतु लेखक पाठकयोः ॥

2

OBSERVATIONS OF SANSKRIT LITERARY CRITICS ON POETIC IMAGINATION

By Pandit Krishna Moorty, M.A., B.T.

In an article on "The Sanskrit Conception of a poet"[1] the present writer has dealt with the triple requirements laid down for a poet in Sanskrit Poetics and their relative importance. It will be clear from that paper how *Pratibhā* or imagination was considered to be the most fundamental factor which made or marred poetry worth the name although wide study and assiduous practice would also be not without their value. These latter no doubt serve the purpose of lending charm to poetry in their own way; but *Pratibhā* alone could be called the indispensable element in the qualification of a poet. The views of earlier writers on Sanskrit Poetics on the subject have been set forth at some length in the said article along with the remarks of two later critics, *viz.*, Bhaṭṭa Tauta and Ānandavardhana.

In this article we propose to consider in greater detail the remarks made by the later writers on the nature and province of *Pratibhā* and also to draw the reader's attention to some strikingly similar statements in English Literary Criticism.

It is not without significance that Ānandavardhana speaks of Pratībhā or Imagination in connection with Dhvani or suggestion, the chief variety of which is Rasa-Dhvani or suggestion of the emotions. In common life and art alike, it is the emotions which set the immagination in motion, and *vice versa*, the language of the imagination which stirs the emotions. The processes which we call imaginative are opposed to the processes of reason, just as the appeal to the emotions is in contrast with the appeal to the reason. In particular, the imaginative processes treat facts, the data of experience, in a way totally different from the processes of which the reason avails itself, discarding experiences which the reason values, utilizing experiences which the reason discards, and meaning by Truth "something quite different from the truth of science". The poet may, on the one hand, discard history for that "feigned history" as Bacon called it, depicting "a more ample greatness, a more exact

1. The 'Hindusthan', vol. I. no. II, pp. 25-34.

goodness, and a more absolute variety than can be found in the nature of things", or on the other hand, he may make familiar realities, and seek to show forth different meanings, which he has seen within them by qualities of his own. Either process is included in what we call Imagination. We may quote a parallel passage from Wordsworth—

" If thou partake the animating faith
That poets, even as prophets, each with each
Connected in a mighty scheme of truth,
Have each his own peculiar faculty,
Heaven's gift, a sense that fits him to perceive
Objects unseen before, thou wilt not blame
The humblest of this band who dares to hope
That unto him hath also been vouchsafed
An insight that in some sort he possesses
A principle whereby a work of his
Proceeding from a source of untaught things,
Creative and enduring, may become
A power like one of Nature's ".

(Prelude, Book xiii).

This interpretation of poety as appealing to the emotions by means of the imagination is so fundamental a matter that for many critics it is the substance of the definition of poetry even among English writers. Thus Theodore Watts Dunton says " No literary expression can, properly speaking, be called poetry that is not in a certain deep sense emotional ".[1] P. B. Shelley says—" poetry in a general sense, may be defined to be the expression of the Imagination." (*A Defence of Poetry*). Ruskin observes—" Poetry is the suggestion, by the Imagination, of noble grounds for the noble emotions. I mean by the noble emotions those four principal sacred passions—Love, Veneration, Adminiration and Joy,—and their opposites—Hatred, Indignation (or Scorn), Horror and Grief.[2]

The word Imagination suggests the making of images,—images in the mind's eye which more or less resemble the images which are there when an object is seen ; and in the simplest use

1. Article on ' Poetry ' in the Encyclopaedia Brittannica.
2. Modern Painters, Part IV.

of the term nothing more is implied. From this standpoint the imagination is a peculiarly vivid form of memory. But this is not all; for the imagination is more than memory. It not only recalls past sensations, but adds to them and substracts from them, making, from the materials thus furnished, new images which have no precise counterpart in nature. The poetic imagination is creative. It not only reproduces the remembered images of the senses, but compares them by new method suggested by the emotions, combines them into new vivid wholes and leaps to conclusions which remind us of the laborious conclusions of the reason, yet are quite different both in method and results. It is this faculty that makes the great poets akin to the prophets and teachers of the race: for they not only recover for us our forever fleeting pleasures of the senses, but interpret those in a way that reveals the hidden significance of life.

A question arises whether there is one class of themes with which poetry characteristically deals, and other classes which are excluded from its territory. At first thought one is likely to try to define some limitations of this sort because of a general impression that poetry treats as a rule only of lofty or dignified themes, more particularly such as love, beauty and faith and avoids the low and the commonplace. Yet further reflection will perhaps suggest that what we have in mind is not so much the subject-matter of the poet, as it is what he makes of that subject-matter; and the weight of the testimony of the critics is against limiting him at all in the choice of material. Thus Leigh Hunt says of poety, after defining it as "the utterance of a passion for truth, beauty and power", that "its means are whatever the universe contains". And Emerson says of the poet: "There is no subject that does not belong to him,—politics, economy, manufactures, and stock brokerage, as much as sunsets and souls; only these things, place in their true order, are poetry; displaced or put in kitchen order, they are unpoetic."[1] Shakespeare in his characteristic way exclaims—

"Our poesy is a gum which oozes
From whence 'tis nourished...our gentle flame
Provokes itself, and like the current, flies
Each bound it chafes."

1. Poetry and the Imagination.

That is why the greatest German poet Goethe declared

"Frei will ich sein im Denken und im Dichten
Im Handeln schrankt die Welt genung."[1]

The creative magic of the Imagination is well brought out in the following lines of Sir John Davies as quoted by S. T. Coleridge.[2]

"Doubtless this could not be, but that she turns
Bodies to spirit by sublimation strange,
As fire converts to fire the things it burns,
As we our food into our nature change.
From their gross matter she abstracts their forms,
And draws a kind of quintessence from things;
Which to her proper nature she transforms
To bear them light on her celestial wings.
Thus does she, when from individual states
She doth abstract the universal kinds;
Which then reclothed in divers names and fates
Steal access through our senses to our minds."

or as another poet would have it, the poet's spirit

"Shoots its being through earth, sea and air."

These considerations about Poetic Imagination are reflected in the writings of later writers on Sanskrit Poetics who accept the view of the *Dhvani* theorists as final and authoritative. But among the host of such writers two names stand out with great prominence. We mean Mahimabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Vyaktiviveka* and Kuntaka, the author of the *Vakroktijīvita*. Mahimabhaṭṭa's work occupies a unique place in the history of Sanskrit Poetics. Avowedly it is a polemical work directed to refute the doctrines of the Dhvanikāra. His own thesis is that all the manifold varieties of *Dhvani* and other important elements of poetry can be brought under the more comprehensive province of *Anumāna* or Inference. In a thorough-going fashion he sets about his business and points out no less than ten defects in the definition laid down by Ānandavardhana, in the first chapter of his book *Vyaktiviveka*. In the second chapter, he proceeds to consider scientifically the nature of Defects in the course of which he quotes hundreds of illustrations from the master-

1. "Free will I be in thought and in my poetry:
In conduct the world trammels us enough."
2. Biographia Literaria, Ch. XIV.

pieces of Sanskrit literature and successfully challenges the idea of Kuntaka, Udbhaṭa, and others.[1] His observations are always strictly logical, thought-provoking and illuminating. Mahimabhaṭṭa's position is that *Alaṅkāras* or figures of speech acquire worth in poetry only when they possess a special charm. This naturally raises the problem whether Nature-Poetry or *svabhāvokti* can be called a figure of speech at all worth the name. He answers the question in the affirmative and supports his position by advancing the following arguments—"Things in the world of nature have indeed a two-fold aspect—the universal and the special. The former admits of varieties in contradistinction to the latter which is unique in its own way. It is this special aspect which is capable of being perceived by the senses and which also forms the subject of Imaginative Poetry. Now what is this Imagination in the Poet? It is the intuition which arises out of the acquaintance for the nonce with the real nature of things in the mind of the poet which has achieved concentration as a result of the contemplation of word and sense in keeping with the sentiment to be depicted. It is indeed extolled as the third eye of the great god Śiva who is known to perceive things, past, present and future by its aid. So even common-place things, when they come out of the poet's imaginative mind, attain the high status of Poetry. So *Svabhāvokti* can rank as a valid figure of speech when the thing described is so picturesquely presented to the mind of the reader that he feels he is actually beholding it in every detail.[2]

1. For a detailed consideration of this topic, *vide* my article on "the Doctrine of Dosas in Sanskrit poetics," Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. 22, 3, Sept., 44.

2. विशिष्टमस्य यद्रूपं तत्प्रत्यक्षस्य गोचरः ।
स एव सत्कविगिरां गोचरः प्रतिभाभुवाम् ॥
रसानुगुणशब्दार्थचिन्तास्तिमितचेतसः ।
क्षणं स्वरूपस्पर्शोत्था प्रज्ञैव प्रतिभा कवेः ॥
सा हि चक्षुर्भगवतस्तृतीयमिति गीयते ।
येन साक्षात्करोत्येष भावांस्त्रैकाल्यवर्तिनः ॥
अर्थस्वभावस्योक्तिर्या सालङ्कारतया मता ।
यतः साक्षादिवाभान्ति तत्रार्थाः प्रतिभार्पिताः ॥

—Vyaktiviveka, II. 116-120.

Mahimabhaṭṭa is also of opinion that things in nature do not give the same pleasure to the observer as they do when they are made the subjects of poetry. The reason he gives is that the poet is endowed with a special gift of communion with nature.[1] He also quotes with approval an ancient stanza which emphatically declares that the truth about the art of poetry can never be attained by one who has not pleased the elders by his humble services to them. This could be compared to the lot of a king who could never aspire to heaven unless he performed the *Rajasūya* sacrifice which was ordained for him.[2]

All this reminds us of the commonplace of Greek literary criticism that poetry, in common with all art, is "imitation of nature." That phrase is interpreted by some critics to mean not the outside world of created things, but "the creative force, the productive principle of the universe." In the useful arts men catch whispers of Nature's secrets and turn the knowledge thus gained to good account. Coming to what the Greeks called the imitative or liberal, and we the fine, arts, we discover underlying them, as understood by Aristotle, the idea that man divines the intention of Nature and gives expression to it. In a statue the artist endeavours not so much to reproduce every detail, as to make his conception in its integrity stand forth and speak. He will concentrate on the significant features as he understands them and his success will depend on the happiness of his choice and the execution of his purpose. The imitation of Nature which art thus achieves is often, we will not say an improving on Nature, but a more lucid and articulate presentment of her design in some given part of it. And in poetry, whose proper matter, in the

1. प्रत्यक्षोऽपि ह्यर्थः साक्षात्संवेद्यमानः सचेतसां न तथा चमत्कारमातनोति यथा स एव सत्कविना वचनगोचरतां गमितः । तदुक्तम्—

कविशक्त्यर्पिता भावास्तन्मयीभावयुक्तितः ।
तथा स्फुरन्त्यमी काव्यान्न तथाध्यक्षतः किल ॥

—Ibid, Ch. I, p. 73 Benares Edn.

2. काव्यार्थतत्वावगमो न वृद्धाराधनं विना ।
अनिष्टवान् राजसूयं कः स्वर्ग्यं सुखमश्नुते ॥

—Ibid, p. 157, Benares Edn.

Greek view, was the character, experiences and actions of men, successful work is a presentation of these in their inwardness and ideal compactness ; not a meticulous labour on outsides, but a recreating ond an exhibition from within. Like all fine art, poetry is ideal, not when it slights or contradicts reality, but when it gives to reality a clarified and intensified expression.

The higher truth and seriousness in the poet's imitation of Nature implies a peculiar ductility in him to the impress of the life of things and an exceptional capacity for recording it. The poet integrates and transfigures what the world presents in a flux of jostling and changing elements. He captures the permanent substance, sifts the perennial from the moment as it flies. Having the intuitive power to penetrate Nature's purposes and divine her message, he becomes her spokesman. Nature is humanized in poetry : the poet is the mind and tongue she enlists in her service. Bhatta Nāyaka very well brings out this idea when he says that poets are the beloved calves of the cow called Speech. The milk which she affectionately gives forth to these is unparalleled even by that supreme bliss which Yogins claim to enjoy. It is laboured on the part of ascetics but spontaneous as far as poets are concerned.[1] Schelling is said to have remarked—" Genius is to aesthetics what the ego is to philosophy, the only supreme and absolute reality." Our ancient theorists went even a step further and they not only compared aesthetic bliss to Yogic bliss but also extolled the former as being more easily attained in preference to the latter. Thus Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* points out that *Rasa* which is the essence of poetry is *Brahmāsvādasahodara*. In dispelling the darkness of Ignorance *Śāstras* or technical treatises act only as bitter medicines whereas poetry is like delightful nectar. They please the palate and at the same time cure the diseases also.[2] In the words of Keats—

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1. वाग्धेनुर्दुग्ध एकं हि रसं यद्बालतृष्णया ।
तेन नास्य समः स स्याद्योगिभिर्दुह्यते हि यः ॥

2. कटुकौषधवच्छास्त्रमविद्याव्याधिनाशनम् ।
आह्लाद्यामृतवत्काव्यमविवेकगदापहम् ॥ —Vakroktijīvita, p. 6.

" A drainless shower
Of light is poesy ; 'Tis the supreme power
'Tis might slumbering on its own right arm,
The very archings of her eyelids charm
A thousand willing agents to obey
And still she governs with the mildest sway."

Now we may pass on to Kuntaka who is the reputed author of the *Vakroktijīvita*. We may go so far as to say that his whole work is a continuous discourse having as its sole aim the exemplification of the several ways in which a poet's genius finds expression in literature. In Kuntaka's work we come across not only information and argument, masterly comparison and sustained intellectual effort, but more than that—a wealth of imagination and a breadth of outlook, a beautiful exuberance of fancy and language unparalleled in works on Sanskrit Poetics. We are provided with something which by some subtle means brings us closer to the Sanskrit classics than we could hope to get unaided ; something that creates in our mind the right receptive mood. It is a unique type of criticism which transports the reader and at the same time informs him. It is artistic and at the same time intellectual. In a word it is creative. Kuntaka so loses himself in the literary piece that he studies that his criticism gives us an artistic expression of what are his own emotions. His work, itself a work of art, illumines the working of the poetic process and of the aesthetic sense. In Kuntaka, the old poets speak again as it were, as though their spirits were but taking up a new instrument and breathing through it.

According to Kuntaka *Pratibhā* or Imagination is the keystone of the Poetic arch.[1] Whatever charm there be in poetry, all that is attributable only to *Pratibhā*.[2] The various elements of poetry such as *Rasa Bhāva* and *Alaṅkāra* have the poet's imagination for their soul and particularly in the case of

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1. कविप्रतिभाप्रौढिरेव प्राधान्येनावतिष्ठते । —Vakroktijīvita, p. 13.
2. यत्किञ्चनापि सौन्दर्यं तत्सर्वं प्रतिभोद्भवम् । Ibid, p. 48.

Alaṅkāras, this is very well pronounced.[1] Kuntaka's idea of *Vākrokti* (Lit. ' Crooked speech ') must not be mistaken to mean an advocacy of an artificial ' poetic diction ' as different from that used by men in ordinary intercourse. His theory corresponds more with that of Wordsworth who holds that " While describing things in language really used by men the poets throw over them a certain colouring of imagination, whereby things shall be presented to the mind in an unusual aspect." The poet gives a significance to things around him to which others are insensible. As we saw earlier, the poet is by nature a seer—to his mind things are surrounded by a halo of plentiful suggestion—" a gleam, a light that never was on sea or land," and he can see into " the life of things." Being endowed with the power of imagination, the poet can easily embody what he sees in concrete images or pictures in which others can see what the poet sees and thereby feel what he feels. Thus he can make common things interesting by making people see them in the light of new and unsuspected meanings, making the commonest thing to be a spring and centre of thought and feeling.[2] It is by virtue of this fact that poets come to deserve the title of Creators.

About the relative importance of *Śakti* and *Vyutpatti* in poetry Ānandavardhana laid down that " the poet's Imagination could work such magic that faults of taste and the failure of the critical faculty might remain unnoticed in particular contexts while the poverty of his imagination would at once catch the attention of the readers."[3] Ānandavardhana substantiates

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1. यद्यपि रसभावालङ्काराणां सर्वेषां कविकौशलमेव जीवितं तथाप्यलङ्कारस्य विशेषतस्तदनुग्रहं विना...मनाङ्मात्रमपि न वैचित्र्यमुत्प्रेक्षामहे । Ibid, p. 146.

2. Cf. तदेवं सत्तामात्रेणैव परिस्फुरतः पदार्थस्य कोऽप्यलौकिकः शोभातिशयविधायी विच्छित्तिविशेषोऽभिधीयते येन नूतनच्छायामनोहारिणा वास्तवस्थितितिरोधानप्रवणेन निजावभासोद्भासिततत्स्वरूपेण तत्कालोल्लिखित इव वर्णनीयपदार्थपरिस्पन्दमहिमा प्रतिभासते येन विधातृव्यपदेश्यतां प्रतिपद्यन्ते कवयः ।

—Ibid, p. 140.

3. अव्युत्पत्तिकृतो दोषः शक्त्या संव्रियते कवेः ।
यस्त्वशक्तिकृतो दोषः स झटित्यवभासते ॥ Dhvanyāloka, Ch. III.

his contention by citing an instance from Kālidasa's *Kumārasaṁbhava*, where the poet describes the amours of Pārvatī and Īśvara. The critic seems to think, that this description is obscene and a result of the poet's want of *Vyutpatti*. Yet the poet's *pratibhā* has been able to elevate it to the level of literature. The impropriety ceases to be glaring because it is shrouded in the overwhelming flood of poetic Imagination.

Now the last critic that claims our attention is Rājaśekhara, the author of the famous work *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*. Rājaśekhara's attitude towards poets and poetry is very interesting and original. He develops the conception of the *Kāvyapuruṣa*, the spirit of poetry, son of *Sarasvatī* who marries *Sāhityavidyā* or Science of Poetics. He distinguishes minutely between *Śāstra* and *Kāvya* and divides and subdivides them. Then the relation of Poetic Imagination, Culture and Practice in the making of a poet is elaborately discussed and poets are classified on this score.

Rājaśekhara distinguishes imagination as creative and descriminative, the former having reference to the ability to create and the latter to the faculty of appreciation.

THE CITATIONS IN THE VIDYULLATĀ

By N. A. Gore, M. A.

The *Vidyullatā* of Pūrṇasarasvatī is an exhaustive Commentary in Sanskrit on the *Meghasandeśa* or the *Meghadūta* and is published as number 15 in Sri Vani Vilas Sanskrit Series, Srirangam. It is indeed very useful for a critical and detailed study of the *Meghadūta* as it offers lucid explanations of words and phrases in the text, occasionally discusses varient readings, notes figures of speech in different stanzas and what is more, devotes consideralde space to bringing out the beauty of the poem by pointing out the aptness of the various expressions used in the poem.

Another important feature of the *Vidyullatā* which proves the great scholarship and the vast reading of its author is that plentiful citations from many authors and works are given in support of the explanations offered in it. Though the names of these authors and the works are often mentioned, there are about 140 citations which are given only anonymously. As the date[1] of its author, Pūrṇasarasvatī is not precisely fixed as yet, these citations in the *Vidyullatā* are presented here in their alphabetical order in the hope that when they are traced to their sources, they would enable us to determine with some certitude the date of Pūrṇasarasvatī. If on the other hand, his exact date is arrived at on the strength of some external evidence, there would follow another advantage viz. the lower limits of the works to which such quotations can be ultimately traced would automatically be fixed. It may be stated here that a similar study of other Commentaries[2] written by Pūrṇasarasvatī, particularly his *Rasamañjarī* on the *Mālatīmādhava* should be undertaken with the same object in view. I have prepared a similar list of the citations in the *Bhaktimandākinī* of Pūrṇasarasvatī,

1. In my edition of another work of Pūrṇasarasvatī, the *Ṛjulaghvī* Poona Oriental Series no. 83, Intro. p. 19, I have assigned him, on the strength of evidence then available, to the period 1200-1450 A. D.

2. For which vide pp. 13-15 of the Introduction to the *Ṛjulaghvī*.

which is a commentary on Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's *Viṣṇupādādikeśāntastotra* and it will be published in the next issue of the Poona Orientalist.

In order to give completeness to this list of citations, I have, before giving the anonymons quotations, noted here the works and authors mentioned in the *Vidyullatā* by name with a few references to the quotations occurring therein. Wherever I have succeeded in tracing the unidentified quotations to their sources, I have indicated them within rectangular brackets, just after the quotation concerned. I thankfully record here the help rendered by my friend Dr. V. Raghavan in locating the sources of some of these unassigned citations, and request learned readers to communicate to me when they succeed in tracing the sources of the remaining quotations.

(i) Authors mentioned in the *Vidyullatā*

1 अमरुक pp. 17, 105
2 कविवल्लभ p. 46
3 कामसूत्रकार p. 12 also see no. 16 below
4 कौटिल्य p. 142
5 खरनाद p. 36
6 दिवाकर pp. 24,30,33,72,83, 95, 138, 139
7 नन्दिकेश्वर p. 51
8 नन्दीश्वर p. 122
9 पाणिनि pp. 4,15,24 etc.
10 भवभूति p. 24
11 भरत p. 40
12 भल्लट p. 137
13 मनु p. 73
14 माघ pp. 82,93 etc.
15 वराहमिहिर p. 19
16 वात्स्यायन pp.40,122. See also कामसूत्रकार, no. 3 above
17 वामन p. 74
18 वाहट p. 26
19 हरि [= भर्तृहरि] p. 39
20 हलायुध pp. 23,34 etc.

(ii) Works mentioned in the *Vidyullatā*

1 अमरकोश, pp. 4,8,9 etc. also quoted under the name अभिधानशास्त्र p. 11
2 उत्तररामचरित p. 23
3 उत्पलमाला p. 31
4 कादम्बरी pp. 22,87 etc.
5 किरातार्जुनीय pp. 3,23,30
6 कुमारसम्भव pp. 3,5,11 etc.
7 कौर्म p. 165
8 गुणपताका p. 160
9 दशकुमारचरित p. 49
10 निघण्टु p. 129
11 पुराण pp. 66,78,79
12 प्रबोधचन्द्रोदय p. 92
13 भगवद्वचन [= भगवद्गीता] pp. 47,85,99

14 भार्याधिकारिक[1] p. 124 or
भार्याधिकार[1] p. 131.
15 मदनतन्त्र pp. 20,105
16 महाभारत pp. 46,29 etc.
17 महायात्रा pp. 19,29 etc.
18 रघुवंश pp. 3,5,14 etc.
19 रतिरहस्य pp. 104,125
also see No. 14 above.
20 रत्नावली pp. 45,137
21 रामायण pp. 12,20 etc.
22 वायुपुराण pp. 51,53,56
23 विक्रमोर्वशीय pp. 12,101,173
24 विष्णुपुराण pp. 11,12,16 etc.
25 वैजयन्ती pp. 4,9,10 etc.
26 वैद्यक pp. 50,122
27 शाकुन्तल pp. 8,9 etc.
28 शिशुपालवध pp. 3,18,22. See
also माघ above.
29 सामुद्रोक्ति pp. 121,122
30 सेतु (बन्ध) pp. 100,165
31 संहिता p. 28
32 हर्षचरित pp. 23,34 etc.

(iii) Anonimous quotations in the *Vidyullatā*

1 अग्रे स्त्रीनखपाटलं कुरबकं इति । p. 101 [विक्रमोर्वशीय 2.7]
2 अणिमादिगुणोपेतमस्पृष्टपुरुषान्तरम् ।
शब्दमीश्वर इत्युच्चैः सार्धचन्द्रं बिभर्ति यः ॥ इति । p. 66 [कुमारसंभव 6.75]
3 अथ प्रभावोपनतैः कुमारं कल्पद्रुमोत्थैः इति । p. 65 [रघुवंश 5.52]
4 अथ शब्दानुशासनं, केषां शब्दानां इति । p. 7 [महाभाष्य]
5 अदर्शने दर्शनमात्रकामा इत्युक्तत्वात् । p. 153
6 अद्भ्योऽग्निर्ब्रह्मतः क्षत्रं इति । p. 73
7 अधिकरतलतल्पं कल्पितस्वापकेली परिमलननिमीलत्पाण्डिमा गण्डपाली ।
सुतनु कथय कस्य व्यञ्जयत्यञ्जसैव स्मरनरपतिर्लीलायौवराज्याभिषेकम् ॥ इति
कश्चित् p. 126
8 अनन्या राघवेणाहं भास्करेण प्रभा यथा इत्युक्तत्वात् । p. 139 [रामायण
V. 21.16]
9 अपेतरोषोज्वलदीप्तवेषां स्रग्गन्धधूपादिषु बद्धरागाम् ।
सङ्गीतलीलां कुशलां कलाज्ञां गन्धर्वसत्त्वां युवतीं वदन्ति ॥ इति । p. 122
[रतिरहस्य 4.16]
10 अभिनवकरिदन्तच्छेदकान्तिः कपोलः इतिवत् । p.72 [मालतीमाधव1.22d]
11 अभ्रस्थाः प्रपतन्त्यापो वायुना समुदीरिताः इति वचनात् । p. 94
12 अलसवलितैः प्रेमार्द्रार्द्रैर्मुहुर्मुकुलीकृतैः......इति । p. 30 [अमरुशतक 4]
13 अवध्ये यो भवेद्दोषो वध्यमाने नृपात्मज ।
स वध्यस्यावधे दृष्ट इति धर्मविदो विदुः ॥ इति स्मरणात् । p. 84

1. This does not refers to the भार्याधिकारिकाधिकरणं of कामसूत्र but to भार्याधिकार i. e. the 12th Ch. of the रतिरहस्य.

14 असौ महाकालनिकेतनस्य......इत्युक्तत्वात्। p. 53 [रघु० 6.34]

15 आत्मा वै इति श्रुतेः। p. 68

आत्मा व पुत्रनामासि कौषींतकि उपनिषद् 2.11.

आत्मा व सर्वदेहिनाम् शरभोप० 16.

16 आनुकूल्यरसाः स्त्रियः इत्युक्तत्वात्। p. 63

17 आपृच्छ्य राघवमनुष्ठितदेवकार्यं इति। p. [रघु० 12.103]

18 आमुमोच तनुच्छदम् इति। p. 54 [रघु० 12.86]

19 आर्तार्ते मुदिता हृष्टे प्रोषिते मलिना कृशा।

मृते म्रियेत या पत्यौ सा स्त्री ज्ञेया पतिव्रता॥ इति स्मरणात्। p. 129

20 आवहो विवहश्चैव उद्वहः सुवहंस्तथा। संवहः प्रवहश्चैव तत ऊर्ध्वं परावहः॥

तदूर्ध्वं स्यात्परिवहो वायोर्वै सप्त नेमयः। इति। p. 16

21 इन्द्रायुधद्योतिततोरणाङ्कं इतिवत्। p. 112

22 इहलोकसुखं मित्रं इति। p. 32

23 ईशतत्पुरुषाघोरवामाद्यैर्मस्तकादिकम् इति च आगमात्। p. 109

24 (तथा कश्चित्) ऋतुभिरिहकिमन्यैरेक एवाहमीशो

जगति विरहभाजां जीविताकर्षणाय।

इति नियतमतानीन्मारवीरप्रतिज्ञां

प्रकटविकटनादः प्रावृषेण्यः पयोदः॥ इति। p. 17.

25 एको न गच्छेदध्वानं इति स्मृतेः। इति। p. 23

26 एति जीवन्तमानन्दो नरं वर्षशतादपि इति। p. 165 [रामायण V. 34.6; VI. 129.2]

27 ऐन्द्रं धनुः पाण्डुपयोधरेण शरद्धानार्द्रनखक्षताभम्।

प्रसादयन्ती सकलङ्कमिन्दुं तापं रवेरभ्यधिकं चकार॥ इति। p. 40 [पाणिनी's acc. to सुभा. र. भाण्डा. p. 359 stz. 17]

28 कथमपीति [पाठः इति] केचित्। p. 38

29 कनकवलयस्यैकस्य धारणं विरहचिह्नमिति केचित्। p. 8

30 कं ब्रह्म खं ब्रह्म इति। p. 2

31 करीव सिक्तं पृषतैः पयोमुचां शुचिव्यपाये वनराजिपल्वलम् इत्युक्तत्वात्। p. 37 [रघु० ३.३]

32 कवेर्यक्षवृत्तान्ते सीताराघववृत्तान्तसमाधिरस्तीति केचित्। p. 7

33 कारणगुणप्रक्रमेण कार्यगुणारम्भ इति न्यायात्। p. 67

34 काश्चित्तात्मार्कधीधातृवाताः इति। p. 2

35 कुरवका रवकारणतां ययुः इति। p. 101 [रघु० 9.29]

36 कुवलयदलश्यामा श्यामलता प्रविजृम्भते इत्युक्तत्वात्। p. 154

37 कृतास्त्रः कृतविद्यः कृतहस्त इतिवत्। p. 173

38 कौलीनभीतेन गृहान्निरस्ता न तेन वैदेहसुता मनस्तः इतिवत्। p. 169
[रघु० 14.84]

39 क्रीडाशरीरसंस्कार......प्रोषितभर्तृका॥ इति स्मरणात्। p. 131
[याज्ञ. स्मृ. 3.84]

40 क्व नीलकण्ठ व्रजसीत्यलक्ष्यवागसत्यकण्ठार्पितबाहुबन्धना इतिवत्। p. 158
[कुमार० 5.57]

41 क्षणमप्यवतिष्ठते श्वसन्......लाभ एव सः इत्युक्तवात्। p. 10 [रघु०8.87]

42 क्षीणे पुण्ये मर्त्यलोकं विशन्ति इति स्मृतेः। p. 47 [भगवद्गीता 9.21]

43 गतवति दयिते तु क्वापि मङ्गल्यमात्राण्यपचितगुरुविप्रा धारयेन्मण्डनानि।
उपगुरुशयनं च स्वल्पतां च व्ययस्य प्रतिदिनमपि कुर्यादस्य वार्तानुसारम्॥
अनवहितविधानं स्वस्य निर्वाहयत्नं प्रतिदिननियमं च क्षेमसिध्यै विदध्यात्।
इत्यादि भार्याधिकारोक्तेः। p. 131, 138 [रतिरहस्य 12.10 ed. 11]

44 गम्यतामर्थलाभाय क्षेमाय विजयाय च इति। p. 19

45 गृहयन्त्रपताकाश्रीः इतिवत्। p. 92

46 घेत्तुं मुंचइ अंगं रोअण्णंतो वळलपेक्खिउं दिग्घटिउं। विघडन्तिभुआरआ असुर-
अम्मि वीसामो॥ इति। p. 167

47 घ्राणे तु सारङ्गा गजा इति केचित्। p. 37

48 छुरितलिखितनाभीमूलवक्षोरुहोरुः। श्लथयति धृतधैर्यं च्यावयित्वाथ नीवीं
इति। p. 105 [रतिरहस्य 10.3

49 जगति बहु न तथ्यं नित्यमैतिह्यमुक्तं इति वचनात्। p. 169

50 जगतामुपकाराय न सा कर्मनिमित्तजा।
चेष्टा तस्याप्रमेयस्य व्यापिन्यव्याहतात्मिका॥ इति वचनात्। p. 29

51 जायां पतिः संप्रविश्य सर्वः सञ्जायते पुनः इति स्मृतेः। p. 68

52 तदङ्गसंस्पर्शमवाप्य......रजो विशुद्धये। इतिवत्। p. 85 [कुमार० 5.79]

53 तवास्यनीलोत्पलचारुचक्षुषो मुखस्य तद्रेणुसमानगन्धिनः। इति। p. 7

54 ताला जाअंति गुणा जाला दे संहिअ एहि घेप्पन्ति।
रविकिरणाणुग्गहिआ हृोन्ति कमलाइ कमलाइ॥ इति। p. 119

55 त्वामिह स्थितवतीमुपस्थिता गन्धमादनवनान्तदेवताः इति। p. 16

56 दरीगृहद्वारि विलम्बिबिम्बाः इतिवत्। p. 72 [कुमार० 1.14]

57 दर्शितानि कलत्राणि गृहे भुक्तमशङ्कितम्।
कथितानि रहस्यानि सौहृदं किमतः परम्॥ इति। p. 21 [व्यासमुनेः acc. to सुभा० र. भां.]

58 दशपूर्वरथं यमाख्यया इत्यादिवत्। p. 64 [रघु० 8.29]
59 देहिनामिति विचित्रकर्मणामुच्चनीचफलभोगसाक्षिणी।
कालकालमपहाय केवलं कालशक्तिरिह केन लङ्घ्यते॥ इति कश्चित्। p. 163
60 द्वौ नञौ प्रकृतमर्थं दृढं सूचयतः इति न्यायात्। p. 96
61 धर्मयोरेकतरनिर्देशेऽन्यसंवित् साहचर्यात् इति लक्षणात्। p. 54
62 धर्मार्थकामकार्येषु भार्या पुंसः सहायिनी।
विदेशगमने चास्य सैव विश्वासकारिणी॥ इति। p. 13
63 न कश्चिन्नापनयते पुमानन्यत्र भार्गवात्।
शेषसम्प्रतिपत्तिस्तु बुद्धिमत्स्ववतिष्ठते॥ इति वचनात्। p. 107
64 न तथा बाध्यते कृष्ण प्रकृत्या निर्धनो जनः।
यथा भद्रां श्रियं प्राप्य तया हीनः सुखैधितः॥ इत्युक्तत्वात्। p. 140
65 यथाह कश्चित्—नतनाभिनितम्बखिन्नमध्यादधरे शोणमचाक्षुषं विलग्ने।
स्तनशालि वपुस्तवाम्ब धातुर्महिलासृष्टिषु मातृकायमाणम्॥ p. 123
66 न दुष्टां दुष्टवाक्शल्यां इति निषेधस्मृतेः। p. 124
67 न मुग्धे प्रत्येतुं प्रभवति गतः कालहरिणः इति। p. 164
68 नवो नवो भवसि इति मन्त्रात्। p. 66 [अथर्ववेद 7.81.2 जैमिन्युपनिषद्ब्राह्मण 3.27.11]
69 न हि प्रकृष्टाः प्रेष्यन्ते प्रेष्यन्ते हीतरे जनाः इति न्यायात्। p. 171 [रामायण 5.39.39 ; 5.68.22]
70 न हि भार्यासमं मित्रं इति। p. 14
71 नादत्ते प्रियमण्डनापि...पल्लवं इतिवत्। p. 67 [शाकुन्तल 4.8]
72 नासौ न काम्यो...भिन्नरुचिर्हि लोकः इतिवत्। p. 96 [रघु० 6.30]
73 निशासु भास्वत्कलनूपुराणां...शिवाभिः॥ इति। p. 59 [रघु० 16.12]
74 नैकान्तात्यन्ततोभावात् इतिवत्। p. 163 [सांख्यका० 1]
75 पतिप्रियहिते युक्ता...प्रेत्यचानुत्तमां गतिम्॥ इति स्मरणात्। p. 131 [याज्ञव० 3.87]
76 पद्मभेदपिशुनाः सिषेविरे गन्धमादनवनान्तदेवताः इति। p. 16
77 परो हि शक्तिरहितः शक्तः कर्तुं न किञ्चन।
शक्तस्तु परमेशो हि शक्त्या युक्तो यदा भवेत्॥ इति आगमात्। p. 56
78 पश्चार्धेन प्रविष्टः शरपतनभयात् इतिवत्। p. 79 [शाकुन्तल 1.7]
79 पाठक्रमादर्थक्रमस्य बलीयस्त्वमिति न्यायात्। p. 150
80 पानीयं प्राणिनां प्राणा विश्वमेव च तन्मयम् इति। p. 15

81 पितृमातृसुत¹...गर्हणीयान्यथा भवेत्॥ इति स्मृतस्य...। p. 131
[याज्ञ० स्मृ. 3.86]

82 पुरुषविशेषो विशिष्टपुरुष ईश्वर इतिवत्। p. 72 [Cf. योगसूत्र 1.24]

83 पुष्पासवाघूर्णितनेत्रशोभम् इतिवत्॥ 72 [कुमार सं. 3.38]

84 पूर्वापरधर्मातस्य रामस्योच्छ्वसितं मनः इतिवत्। p. 148

85 प्रभावस्तिमितच्छायमितिवत्। p. 5 [रघु० 12.21]

86 प्रस्पन्दमानः पुनरूरुरस्याः रामं पुरस्तात्स्थितमाचचक्षे इत्युक्तत्वात्। p. 149

87 फुल्लमल्लिकाधवलाट्टहासः इति। p. 72 [हर्षचरित 3]

88 भक्त्योपपन्नेषु......मतङ्गजत्वम् इति। p. 4 [रघु० 5.53]

89 भिन्नशिखण्डिबर्हः इतिवत्। p. 159 [कुमार सं. 1.15]

90 भुवः प्रभव इति। p. 80 [पाणिनि 1.4.31]

91 मतङ्गशापादवलेपमूलादवाप्तवानस्मि मतङ्गजत्वम् इति। p. 4 [रघु० 5.53]

92 मनः प्रीतिकरः स्वर्गो नरकस्तद्विपर्यय इत्युक्तत्वात्। p. 48

93 मन्दं शब्दायमाने इतिवत्। p. 86

94 मुक्तात्मनोऽपि शिवाः किन्त्वेते तत्प्रसादतो मुक्ताः।
सोऽनादिमुक्त एको विज्ञेयो पञ्चमन्त्रतनुः॥ इति आगमात्...। p. 85

95 मुखमिव पयः इति। p. 120

96 मूर्ध्नि ग्राव्णा जर्झरा निर्झरौघाः इतिवत्। p. 107

97 मृग्यश्च दर्भाङ्कुर°......विलोचनानि॥ इतिवत्। [रघु० 13.25]

98 अत्राह कश्चित्—यक्षो रामगिरौ न्यवसदित्युक्तम्; उपरि तु तत्सन्देशप्रकारः प्रपञ्चयिष्यते, अतोऽस्माकं पठतां शृण्वतां च किमायातमिति।

99 यदुद्दिश्य प्रवर्तन्ते पुरुषास्तत्प्रयोजनम् इति। p. 14

100 यस्य चोपवनं बाह्यं सुगन्धिर्गन्धमादनं इति। p. 15

101 यावत्कीर्तिर्मनुष्यस्य भूमौ भवति भारत। [म. भा. 1.203]
तावत्स पुरुषव्याघ्रः स्वर्गलोके महीयते॥ इति स्मृतेः। p. 69

102 यैर्दृष्टोऽसि तदा ललाटपतितप्रासप्रहारो युधि
स्फीतासृक्स्रुतिपाटलीकृतपुरोभागं परान्दारयन्।
तेषां दुःसहकामदेवदहनप्रोद्भूतनेत्रानल—
ज्वालालीभरभासुरे स्मररिपावस्तंगतं कौतुकम्॥ इति p. 56
[Cf. सुभा. र. भां. p. 115 stz 251]

103 यौवनमफलं दरिद्रस्य इत्युक्तत्वात्। p. 41

104 रक्ताभिः सुरसुन्दरीभिरभितो गीतानु कर्णद्वयी तच्च श्रोष्यति नाम किं
इति। p. 86

105 रक्ताशोक कृशोदरी क नु गता त्यक्त्वानुरक्तं जनं
नो दृष्टेति मुधैव चालयसि किं वाताभिभूतं शिरः ।
उत्कण्ठाघटमानषट्पदघटासंघट्टदुष्टच्छद—
स्तत्पादाहतिमन्तरेण भवतः पुष्पोद्गमोयं कुतः ॥ इति । p. 12
[Of वसुनाग acc to सुभा० र॰ भां.]

106 रामगिर्याश्रमेषु रामेण चिरमध्युषितत्वात्तेनैव नाम्ना तेनैव नाम्ना प्रसिद्धो गिरिः चित्रकूट इति केचित् , अन्यः कश्चिदित्यन्ये । p. 6

107 लघुता नियता निरायतेः इतिवत् । p. 35 [किराता० 2.14]

108 वपुर्विशेषेष्वतिगौरवाः क्रियाः इतिवत् । p. 35 [कुमार० 5.31]

109 वर्षति वर्षासु निस्वनो मेघः इति । p. 171

110 वर्षद्वयं तु मैत्रेय भौमः स्वर्गोऽयमुत्तमः इत्युक्तेः । p. 47

111 वह्नीन्द्रोपेन्द्रमित्रे कः इति । p. 2

112 वानरोऽहं महाभागे...... देव्यङ्गुलीयकम् ॥ इति । p. 148
[रामा० V. 36.2]

113 वासरं वासतेयीं च पाराधीन्येन पश्यतः ।
सुस्थान्याभ्यामवस्थाभ्यां स्वस्थाभ्यां कौ मदेतरौ ॥ इति । p. 163

114 विनापि पूर्वपदेन पश्नभावो वक्तव्य इति । p. 79

115 विनोदमात्रमेवेदं इति यस्यावधारणा विटवृत्तं स जानाति इति । p. 7

116 वेदान्तवेदिभिर्विष्णुः प्रोच्यते यो नतोऽस्मि तं इति वचनात् । p. 29

117 शास्त्राणां विषय०......नैव शास्त्रं न च क्रमः ॥ इत्युक्तत्वात् । p. 105
[कामसूत्र 2.2.32]

118 शीलेन रक्ष्यते नारी इत्युक्तत्वात् । p. 131

119 श्यामा कफप्रकृतिका वडवा मृगी वा
गन्धर्वयक्षसुरकिन्नरसात्त्विका वा ।
बालाथवाभिनवयौवनभूषिताङ्गी
सा भामिनी भवमुदां परमं रहस्यम् ॥ इत्युक्तत्वात् ।[1] p. 122, 125
[रतिरहस्य 4.20]

120 संयोक्ष्यसे स्वेन......तपोनिधिमाम् । इति । p. 4 [रघु० 5.55]

121 स देवदारुद्रुमवेदिकायां इतिवत् । p. 159 [कुमार० 3]

122 समानचित्तवृत्तित्वं मित्रत्वमिति दर्शितं इति लक्षितत्वात् । p. 24

1. The printed text of the रतिरहस्य (Bombay Sanskrit Press, Lahore edition) has गन्धर्वयक्षनरनिर्जरसात्त्विका in the second line and भवभुजां is the fourth.

123 स क्षत्रं नाम वर्णः इति । p. 74

124 स मारुतसमानीत°...विलापाचार्यकं शनैः ॥ इति । p. 3 [रघु० 12.78]

125 सन्ध्यापयोदकपिशाः पिशिताशनानां इत्यादि प्रयोगदर्शनात् । p. 55 [शाकु० 3.26]

126 सर्पवेणीति कृष्णभुजङ्गमभोगमण्डलं इति केचित् । p. 33

127 सर्वनाम्नानुसंधिर्वृत्तिच्छन्नस्य इति लक्षणात् । p. 8

128 साधकस्य तु लक्षार्थं तस्य रूपमिदं स्मृतम् ।
तद्वपुः पञ्चभिर्मन्त्रैः पञ्चकृत्योपयोगिभिः ॥ इति आगमात् । p. 109

129 सारथ्यपारिषदसेवनसौख्यदौत्यवीरासनानुगमनस्तवनप्रणामैः ।
स्निग्धेषु पाण्डुषु जगत्प्रणतस्य विष्णोर्भक्तिं चकार नृपतिश्चरणारविन्दे ॥
इत्युक्तेः । p. 172

130 सा सपुष्पजलवर्षिभिर्घनैः इति । p. 65

131 सुखैर्निषिञ्चन्तमिवामृतं त्वचि इति । p. 42 [रघु. 3.26]

132 सुरभिशुचिशरीरा सुप्रसन्नानना च
प्रचुरजनधनाढ्या भामिनी देवसत्त्वा । इति । p. 122 [रतिरहस्य 4.14]

133 स्नेहः प्रवासाश्रयात् इति । p. 169

134 स्फुटहसितनिवृत्तिं शीलवृत्तिं च कुर्यात् इति भार्याधिकारिकोक्तेः । p. 124 [रतिरहस्य 12.9]

135 [1]स्वच्छच्छायायासितेन्दवः इति । p. 72 [ध्वन्यालोक 1.1]

136 हतमश्रद्धयेतरत् इति स्मृतेः । p. 85

137 हिरण्यपूर्वं कशिपुं प्रचक्षते इत्यादिवत् । p. 64 [शिशुपाल० 1.42]

Special attention of scholars is invited to Nos. 28, 29, 32, 47, 98, 105 and 125 in Section iii above in view of the fact that the editor of the *Vidyullatā* in his Sanskrit Introduction (p. 11) says that Pūrṇasarasvatī refers to Mallinātha's commentary in the *Vidynllatā.* But this does not seem to be correct as I have already shown in the foot-note to page 19 of my Introduction to the *Ṛjulaghvī.* If it could be determined what commentator or commentators Pūrṇasarasvatī is referring to, it would provide some surer basis for fixing the date of Pūrṇasarasvatī.

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1. Printed text of the ध्वन्यालोक (काव्यमाला ed.) has स्वच्छस्वच्छाया-सितेन्दवः ।

PŪRṆASARASVATĪ

By C. Kunhan Raja

a. His Date

The first work of Pūrṇasarasvatī that came to public notice was his *Vidyullatā*, a commentary on the *Meghadūta*, when it was published in the Vani Vilas Series, Srirangam in 1909. About the author and his date, the late Abhinavabhaṭṭabāṇa Krishnamacharya wrote in the *Bhūmikā :*

अयं किल पूर्णसरस्वत्याख्यः पण्डितमणिः केरलेषु "काटमाटस्" इति प्रसिद्धे मान्त्रिककुले लब्धजन्मा कश्चन केरलीयो ब्राह्मणः ।...अयमादावन्ते च पूर्णज्योतिरभिधमीश्वरं स्मरति । स च गोश्री(कोच्चि)राज्ये "तृप्पुणित्तुरै" इति सुप्रथिते देशे महति क्षेत्ररत्ने अद्यापि कृतसन्निधानः ।

When the *Hamsadūta* of Pūrṇasarasvatī was published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series as No. CXXIX in 1937, the editor Sambasiva Sastri wrote about the author : "The complete history of the author is not yet available. Some say that he was a Kerala Brahmin of the family of Kattumadas...He is supposed to have been a native of the place called Triccambara and he rightly deserves the name Pūrṇasarasvatī as he was blessed with poetic inspiration by the mercy of the God of Pūaṇatrayī, the great temple of Cochin."

The third work of his that was published is the *Ṛjulaghvī* or the metrical narration of the story of the *Malatīmādhava*, edited by Prof. N. A. Gore in the Poona Oriental Series as No. 83 in 1943. Here he made a new addition in his Introduction, stating that Triccambara is identical with "modern Trichur in Cochin State" (P. 16). When I reviewed this work in the Adyar Library Bulletin in May 1944, I mistook this to be a presentation of what Pandit Sambasiva Sastri had stated in his Introduction to the *Hamsadūta*, and without verifying the fact, I made a certain statement there which I now withdraw.

As I have stated in that review, there is no basis for the original surmise of Krishnamacharya that Pūrṇasarasvatī belonged to the Kattumadat House. No one knows now the source of his information, and as such nothing further could be traced

along that line. All that we know is that he called his teacher by the name of Pūrṇajyotirmuni. As already stated by Prof. Gore in his Introduction to the *Ṛjulaghvī* (P- 18), Pūrṇajyotis is the name of the teacher, and this term has nothing to do with the Pūrṇatrayī temple (Tripunithura, the modern residence of the Cochin Royal Family). Pūrṇasarasvatī wrote his drama, *Kamalinīrājahaṁsa* to be staged at the Siva temple of Vṛṣapura, which must be Trichur. In his *Haṁsadūta*, he mentions Triccambara (*Raktadruma*) in verse 29. This is all that we know about the author.

Regarding the date of Pūrṇasarasvatī Krishnamacharya says :

अयं च व्याख्याता मल्लिनाथादर्वाचीन इति ज्ञायते यतोऽयं मल्लिनाथीयं व्याख्यानमेव केचिदिति तत्र तत्र निर्दिशति ।

The surmise of Krishnamacharya that he was later than Mallinātha is not well founded. Prof. Gore has already stated so in his Introduction to the *Ṛjulaghvī* (P. 19). In that Introduction, he has alluded to Parameśvara having criticised Pūrṇasarasvatī (P. 19). This is in Parameśvara's commentary on the *Meghadūta* called *Sumanoramaṇī*. I have given a very small note on this commentary in the Adyar Library Bulletin in February, 1945. From that it is certain that the whole trend of the commentary is to criticise *Vidyullatā*, the commentary on the *Meghadūta* by Pūrṇasarasvatī, though I have given only extracts from the first verse.

Here I propose to compare closely those passages in the *Vidyullatā* where he refers to previous commentators as *kecit* and see their relation to the commentaries available.

Vidyullatā on the word *kāntāvirahaguruṇā* in I–1.

कान्ताविरहतो गुरुणा अलघुना दुर्भरेणेति केचित्

Mallinātha has

कान्ताविरहेण गुरुणा दुर्भरेण । दुस्तरेणेत्यर्थः ।

These two have some sort of verbal resemblance, but not complete identity. The word *alaghunā* does not appear in Mallinātha. Mallinātha has the further meaning *dustareṇetyarthaḥ*. The explanation of this word is not found in the available edition of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's commentary (Trivandrum

Sanskrit Series No. 64). All the commentaries except the *Vidyullatā* take the word *kāntāvirahaguruṇā* to mean "heavy due to separation from his beloved," and it is the difference between his own interpretation and the interpretation of earlier commentators that he is emphasising. Thus even the casual similarity between *Vidyullatā* and Mallinātha signifies little.

On the word *rāmagiryāśrameṣu*, *Vidyullatā* has :

चित्रकूट इति केचित् । अन्यः कश्चिदित्यन्ये ।

Mallinātha says :

रामगिरेश्चित्रकूटस्याश्रमेषु

Dakṣiṇāvartanātha has no remark on the word. Sthiradeva says :

रामगिरिर्दण्डकारण्यः ।

And Vallabhadeva too has the explanation :

रामगिर्याश्रमेषु चित्रकूटाचलतपोवनेषु ।

Here also there is nothing to show that Pūrṇasarasvatī is alluding to Mallinātha.

Pūrṇasarasvatī refers to a question by an earlier commentator regarding the purpose of this poem, in the words :

अत्राह कश्चित्–यक्षो रामगिरौ न्यवसदित्युक्तम् । उपरि तु तत्सन्देशप्रकारः प्रपञ्चयिष्यते । अतोऽस्माकं पठतां शृण्वतां च किमायातम्–इति ।

There is no parallel to this in any commentary. Pūrṇasarasvatī refers also to the allusion to the story of Rāma, as stated by previous commentators :

कवेर्यक्षवृत्तान्ते सीताराघववृत्तान्तसमाधिरस्तीति केचित् ।

It is only in Dakṣiṇāvartanātha that we have a parallel in :

रामकथाभिलाषे लिङ्गं "इत्याख्याते" इति वक्ष्यमाणवचनम् ।...जनकतनयेत्यादिना रामकथा सूचिता ।...रामगिर्याश्रमेषु । अनेनापि रामकथा सूचिता ।

On verse I–2, Pūrṇasarasvatī says :

कनकवलयस्यैकस्य धारणं विरहचिह्नमिति केचित् ।

No commentator has anything corresponding to this statement. Then on verse I–18, Pūrṇasarasvatī says :

सर्पवेणीति कृष्णभुजङ्गभोगमण्डलमिति केचित् ।

It is only Dakṣiṇāvartanātha that accepts the reading *sarpaveṇī* instead of *snigdhaveṇī* found in all other commentaries. The words in Dakṣiṇāvartanātha are :

सर्पवेणीसवर्णे । वेणी केशबन्धः । सर्पस्य वेणी सर्पस्य वेष्टनम् ।

On verse I–21, Pūrṇasarasvatī says :

घ्राणे तु सारङ्गा गजा इति केचित् ।

Here also there is nothing parallel in Mallinātha. Dakṣiṇāvartanātha cites such an opinion and criticises it :

ये पुनः सारङ्गशब्देन चातकहरिणगजा विवक्षिता इति व्याचक्षते तेषां मतमुपेक्षणीयं सारङ्गशब्दस्य गजवाचित्वादर्शनात् ।

Sthiradeva also cites a similar view and critises it.

सारङ्गा भृङ्गाः नीपं दृष्ट्वा । सारङ्गा गजाः वसुन्धराया गन्धमाघ्राय । एतच्चेतश्चमत्कारि न भवतीत्यनादरदर्शितम् । यतोऽभिहितः कर्तृपक्षे क्रियासमुच्चयो न घटते । कर्तृसमुच्चये सारङ्गपदमेकमेव केन सह समुच्चीयते ॥

Sthiradeva and Vallabhadeva do not accept the interpretation of the same word *sāraṅga* in three meanings. Dakṣiṇāvartanātha and Pūrṇasarasvatī take the word to mean three things, but do not accept the meaning of *gaja* for the word *sāraṅga*. Some earlier commentators must have taken it in that meaning and Parameśvara defends it.

Vallabhadeva gives the meaning *mayūra* for *sāraṅga*. He does not give any alternative view on this verse.

On verse I–22, Pūrṇasarasvatī says :

कथमपीति केचित् ।

This is the reading in all the commentaries except *Vidyullatā*.

Thus there is nothing to show that Pūrṇasarasvatī had seen the commentary of Mallinātha. All that we know is that he had many previous commentaries, many readings and many diverse interpretations before him. In so far as the reading, *sarpaveṇī* is found only in Dakṣiṇāvartanātha for verse 18, we may assume that Pūrṇasarasvatī is alluding to this commentary. But here also, there is a possibility of the same reading being found in earlier commentaries. The words in *Vidyullatā* are not identical with the words of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha.

On the second verse, Mallinātha makes some remarks on the alternative reading of *praśamadivase* for *prathamadivase*. Similarly, he cites the opinion of there being an allusion to Kālidāsa's friend Nicula and his rival Diṅnāga in verse 14. It Pūrṇasarasvatī had seen these opinions, it is rather strange that he does not take note of them. This shows that Pūrṇasarasvatī had not seen even the commentary of Mallinātha or of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha where too there is the reference to Diṅnaga and Nicula.

Parameśvara, the author of *Sumanoramaṇī*, the commentary on the *Meghadūta*, is the author of *Svaditaṅkaraṇī* (See Adyar Library Bulletin for February 1945). He must be the grandfather of Parameśvara, who was a contemporary of Uddaṇḍa. According to Malabar tradition, there were nine scholars (the tradition says that they were brothers) in the Payyūr Family, to which Parameśvara belonged. All attempts have failed to locate the nine members, to say nothing of nine brothers, having lived at the same time. But it is in the time of the second Parameśvara, the commentator on Vācaspati's *Tattvabindu*, on the *Nītitattvāvirbhāva*, and on the *Vibhramaviveka* and *Sphotasiddhi* of Maṇḍana etc. that we have been able to find seven members of the family having been living together. Thus it is likely that the contemporary of Uddaṇḍa is this second Parameśvara, the grandson of Parameśvara, the author of the *Svaditaṅkaraṇī*. The date of Uddaṇḍa is about 1400 A.D. and, as such, the date of Parameśvara, the author of *Svaditaṅkaraṇī* and of *Sumanoramaṇī* (the commentary on the *Meghadūta*) must be put to the middle of the fourteenth century.

Pūrnasarasvatī seems to be a contemporary of Parameśvara. The poignant criticisms of *Vidyullatā* in the *Sumanoramaṇī* lose much of their force if they are directed against a former commentator. They have a great significanee if they are against a contemporary commentator, perhaps belonging to a rival school. But unfortunately, we know nothing about the various schools and their rivalries in those days.

In criticising the interpretation of the word *sāraṅga* as *gaja* in verse I-21, Pūrnasarasvatī says: ***atra pramāṇam mṛgyam.*** Evidently what he means is that there is no lexicon where the

word *sāraṅga* is given as a synonym of *gaja*. On this Parameśvara has a long passagc, which I quote below.

यद्यपि " सारङ्गश्शबलो वर्णश्चातकः षट्पदो मृगः " इत्यत्र सारङ्गशब्दस्य गजवाचित्वं न दृष्टं तथापि " स्वस्निष्यन्द " इति " करीव सिक्तं " इति च गजानां जलसिक्तमहीगन्धप्रियत्वं वदता कविना अत्राप्युर्वीगन्धघ्राणने गज एव सारङ्गशब्देनोक्त इति मन्तव्यम् । न चाभिधानग्रन्थविरोधोऽप्यस्ति । तत्कर्तॄणां लोकैकप्रमाणकानां अर्थेयत्ताविवक्षाभावात् ।

It is true that Dakṣiṇāvartanātha expressly says that there is no lexicographical authority for taking the word *sāraṅga* in the sense of *gaja*; but in so far as Parameśvara's criticisms are definitely directed against *Vidyullatā* in other places, here also it must be assumed that the criticism is against Pūrnasarasvatī and not against Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, as the primary target.

This leaves in me an impression that this long justification was meant to reach the ears of the author of *Vidyullatā*. Further, Pūrṇasarasvatī is the author of a *Dūtakāvya*, called *Haṁsadūta* (Triv. Skt. Ser. CXXIX). One member of the Payyūr Family has written another *Dūtakāvya* called *Cakorasandeśa*. In the former, a heroine asks a swan to go in search of her beloved and to proceed to Brindavan if he could not be found in other places on the way, like Srirangam, Trivandrum and Tricchambaram. The beloved is Lord Krishna himself. The *Cakorasandeśa* seems to be an imitation, rather a parody, of this *Haṁsadūta*. In the *Cakorasandeśa*, a heroine asks a *cakora* to go in search of her beloved who had left her a long time before and to proceed as far as Vedāraṇya, if he could not be found at any earlier stage in his search. Vedāraṇya is the temple belonging to the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas' family. After carefully reading through both the *sandeśakāvyas* I have a feeling that the *Cakorasandeśa* was written with a view to its reaching the ears of the author of *Haṁsadūta*.

Whether Parameśvara, the commentator of the *Meghadūta* himself wrote the *Cakorasandeśa* or whether it was another member of the family, is a point on which nothing can be said at present. There was a Vāsudeva among the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas who is the author of some *Yamaka-kāvyas*. *Cakorasandeśa* may be the work of this Vāsudeva ; it can as well be the work of the

commentator of *Meghadūta*, Parameśvara. Except the possibility of Pūrṇasarasvatī being a contemporary, perhaps an elder contemporary, of Parameśvara, there is no evidence at present available to fix the date of Pūrṇasarasvatī. Parallelisms between the *Vidyullatā* and the other commentaries on the *Meghadūta* give no clue. There is no commentary now available, which, we can definitely say, was known to Pūrṇasarasvatī. For the time being, we can assume that he belonged to the fourteenth century, rather to the early part than to the latter part. That he cannot be earlier than about 1200 A. D. is certain, since he cites works of the twelfth century.

From a close study of all his works, it is possible to gather something about his identity also. This will be considered in the next part of the article.

Nature of Consciousness in Hindu Philosophy by Dr. S. K. Saksena. Dm. pp. 220. Benares; 1944. Rs. 7-8-0.

This book is a thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London in the year 1938. The merit of this work is that it brings into relief in the most systematic manner " the bold and vigorous thinking attempted in India during the long period beginning with the times of the Upaniṣads down to the end of the 17th century A. D." Here, of course, the author has restricted himself purely to the problem of consciousness as treated by Indian philosophers. In the general problem of consciousness, again, the author has limited himself to the " logical consideration of the metaphysical nature and characteristics of what consciousness in itself is." The author has rightly stressed the importance of the study of the distinctive and unique traits of each system of thought—Western, Egyptian, Persian, Chinese, Indian etc.—before any comparison and synthesis should prove fruitful. The author's is such an independent and critical study of the Hindu view of consciousness. He has begun with the definition of the problem, and progressively throughout the work has given a lucid answer to it referring every moment to the original Sanskrit passages from various authors. It is a matter of pride to the Indian students to note the depth and subtlety of the Indian thinkers in dealing with the difficult questions as to the ontological nature of consciousness, epistemological self-illuminacy, psychological self-consciousness, Transcendency, and relation to unconsciousness. To the Westerners and the uninitiated in Indian thought—the book furnishes the best guide. In " the Epilogue " the author clearly states the distinction between the Hindu and the Western thought.

There seems to be a bit of inconsistency between the beginning and the conclusion of the book, though, of course, not quite striking. In the " Introductory " chapter while locating the place of man in cosmos the author seems to have assumed that man is the evolved product of creation. It is not clear whether man is to be identified with conscousness, thought, mind, intellect, awareness or cognition ; for, the connotation of all these terms is not distinguished by him. If man is a product in all these senses, consciousness seems to be non-existent in the

beginning of the evolutionary process. But then we could not say that "man has also lost in the comparative peace and blissfulness of an uncognitive existence," because peace and blissfulness are incompatible with uncognitive existence, if we are not to commit the error of anthropomorphism. Or again, if man has really lost his peace and blissfulness, he must have had it before; for one can only lose what one does already possess. Then man must be considered as an identical and permanent existence who can experience that loss. This comes to mean that man is not a product. If again, he is considered a supreme product of evolution, he must have gained in every manner. If he is unhappy his unhappiness comes of his greatness. And to be great though unhappy is better than to be happy but low.

Apart from this minor point, the book is invaluable to all the students of Indian philosophy. A. G. JAVADEKAR.

Archaeology and Indian History by Jnānaratna Dr. Hirananda Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., D. Litt.—Gujerat Vernacular Society, Research Series No. 21, Dm. pp. 107 with xxvi plates, Ahmedabad 1944. Price Rs. 3/-.

This monograph runs into four lectures—(*a*) Archaeology and Ancient Indian History, (*b*) A bird's-eye view of some of the most important movements of Gujerat and Kathiawar, (*c*) Nālandā and (*d*) Sources of the Cultural History of Gujerat and Kathiawar. Archaeology, one of the four great sources of Ancient Indian History is a vast subject and the author points out the flood of light that small finds have thrown on the past. The Rumindie pillar of Aśoka proves the historicity of the Buddha; the Bīsnagar inscription shows that foreigners adopted Hindu faith and culture. Aśoka's pillar now at Allahabad, contains inscrr. of Aśoka and Samudragupta. The seals from Nālanda reveal new names. Numismatics is also a rich source. Chapter II, is exhaustive. Chapter III contains a delightful description of the ruins on Nālandā and the light they throw on Buddhism and education in Ancient India. The author's assertion that the Aryanisation of Ceylon was due to the enterprise of Gujerat is not likely to be accepted by students of Mauryan and Cōḷa histories. In short it is a learned and popular monograph. K. GOPALACHARI.

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